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TO THE

TWELFTH VOLUME

OF THE

AFRICAN REPOSITORY.

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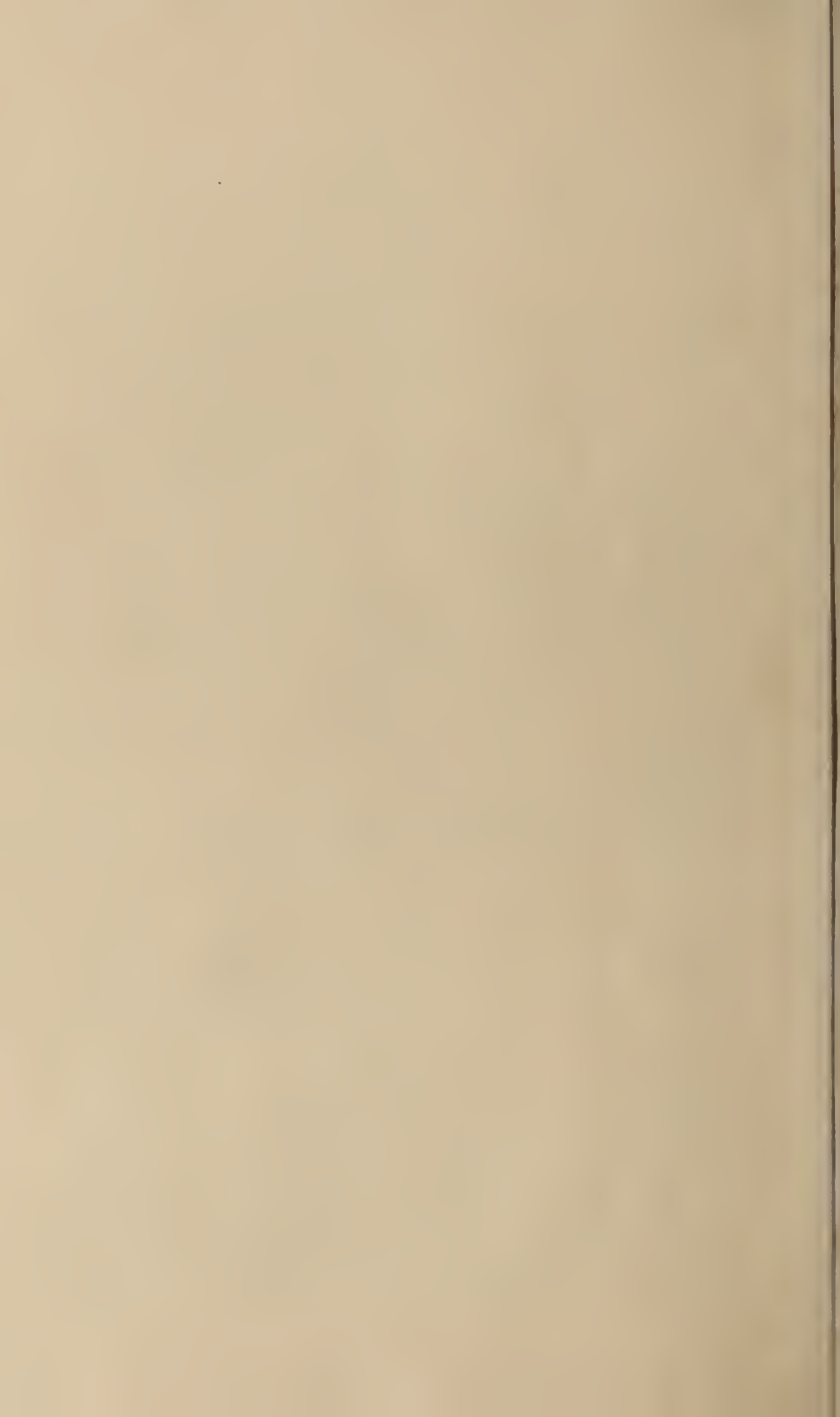
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THOUGHTS FOR THOSE WHO THINK.

THAT whatever is on the whole desirable is practicable, is an article of our Faith. Not that what is most desirable for mankind in theory, ought to be, or can be, in all cases, secured for them immediately; but that there are no such barriers erected by Providence in the way of the improvement of any class or condition of men, as to leave the great social and political evils of society irremediable, we are convinced, no less, than of the wisdom and benevolence of God.

For several months the public mind has been extensively agitated on the subject of our coloured population. Upon it, much has been written and more felt. Doctrines opposite to each other have been maintained in different portions of the country, in language as hostile to union of spirit as of opinion.

The plan of the American Colonization Society, has from its origin been advocated, by its ablest Friends, as a great scheme of good to the coloured race, worthy to be sustained by the power and treasure of the Nation. The publications of the Society will show, that as *such* a scheme and deserving of *such* patronage, it received the support of a Washington, Marshall, Harper, and Fitzhugh, patriots, alas! departed, and of others still living, eminent for wisdom and rich in honours, whose voices, eloquent, will yet again, we trust, be heard, to the extremities of the Union, in defence of the principles of African Colonization.

We can easily imagine, that amid the prevailing excitement on the question of slavery, some friends of the Society, especially at the North, may have become fainthearted, perhaps unsettled in opinion concerning its merits. While they are unprepared to press, in the spirit of the Anti-Slavery Journals, the doctrine of instant abolition upon the mind of the South, they want that confidence in the scheme of Colonization, as a main scheme of good for the coloured race, which is necessary to invigorate their exertions.

It is justly remarked by a great writer, that "Laws politic, ordained for external order and regiment among men, are never framed as

they should be, unless presuming the will of man to be inwardly obstinate, rebellious, and averse from all obedience unto the sacred laws of his nature; in a word, unless presuming man to be, in regard to his depraved mind, little better than a wild beast, they do accordingly provide notwithstanding so to frame his outward actions, that they be no hindrance unto the common good, for which societies are instituted; unless they do this, they are not perfect." Of plans benevolent, as well as of "laws politic," may, or rather *must*, this be truly said. However pure may be the motives which give origin to our designs of good towards our fellow men, if they are framed for human nature not as it is, but as it should be, they will suffer defeat; or, more probably, enhance the dangers and aggravate the sufferings they are intended to relieve. Human depravity will never be left out of the calculations of a wise man. No sooner will he close upon it the eyes of his understanding, than accommodate to it his principles. Nor will such a man attempt to control by external or foreign influences those sentiments of our nature from which spring all social and political equality, and which, to the extent of their proper exercise, morality and religion have left free.

Would we rightly judge of the general policy to be adopted towards our coloured population, we must consider not simply their actual character and condition and relation to society, but how these are regarded in the opinion of the South. Whether this opinion be right or wrong, it is all-controlling on the subject. We suggest also to the benevolent and pious of the north, that they weigh well the *reason* adduced as paramount in the almost, if not quite *entire* judgment of the South against the views of the Abolition Societies. It cannot be more clearly or strongly stated than in the Report (on the subject of circulating inflammatory pamphlets through the mail) offered to the U. States Senate by Mr. Calhoun:—

"He who regards slavery in those States simply under the relation of master and slave, as important as that relation is, viewed merely as a question of property to the slaveholding section of the Union, has a very imperfect conception of the institution, and the impossibility of abolishing it without disasters unexampled in the history of the world. To understand its nature and importance fully, it must be borne in mind that slavery, as it exists in the Southern States, (including under the Southern all the slaveholding States,) involves not only the relation of master and slave, but, also, the social and political relations of two races, of nearly equal numbers, from different quarters of the globe, and the most opposite of all others in every particular that distinguishes one race of men from another. Emancipation would destroy these relations—would divest the masters of their property, and subvert the relations, social and political, that has existed between the races from almost the first settlement of the Southern States.

"It is not the intention of the committee to dwell on the pecuniary aspect of this vital subject; the vast amount of property involved, equal at least to \$950,000,000; the ruin of families and individuals; the impoverishment and prostration of an entire section of the Union, and the fatal blow that would be given to the productions of the great agricultural staples, on which the commerce, the navigation, the manufactures, and the revenue of the country, almost entirely depend. *As great as these disasters would be, they are nothing compared to what must follow the subversion of the existing relation between the two races, to which the committee will confine their remarks.*

"Under this relation, the two races have long lived in peace and prosperity, and, if not disturbed, would long continue so to live. While the European race has rapidly increased in wealth and numbers, and at the same time has maintained an equality, at least morally and intellectually, with their brethren of the non-slaveholding States, the African race has multiplied with not less rapidity, accompanied

by great improvement, physically and intellectually, and the enjoyment of a degree of comfort with which the laboring class in few countries can compare, and confessedly greatly superior to what the free people of the same race possess in the non-slaveholding States. It may indeed, be safely asserted that there is no example in history in which a savage people, such as their ancestors were when brought into the country, have ever advanced in the same period so rapidly in numbers and improvement.

"To destroy the existing relations would be to destroy this prosperity, and to place the two races in a state of conflict, *which must end in the expulsion or extirpation of one or the other. No other can be substituted, compatible with their peace or security. The difficulty is in the diversity of the races.* So strongly drawn is the line between the two, in consequence of it, and so strengthened by the force of habit and education, that it is impossible for them to exist together in the same community, where their numbers are so nearly equal as in the slaveholding States, under any other relations than that which now exist. Social and political equality between them is impossible. No power on earth can overcome the difficulty. The causes resisting, lie too deep in the principles of our nature to be surmounted. But without such equality, to change the present condition of the African race, were it possible, would be but to change the form of slavery. It would make them the slaves of the community, instead of the slaves of individuals, with less responsibility and interest in their welfare on the part of the community than is felt by their present masters: while it would destroy the security and independence of the European race if the African should be permitted to continue in their changed condition within the limits of those States. They would look to the other States for support and protection, and would become, virtually, their allies and dependants; and would thus place in the hands of those States the most effectual instrument to destroy the influence and control the destiny of the rest of the Union:

"It is against this relation between the two races that the blind and criminal zeal of the abolitionists is directed—a relation that now preserves in quiet and security more than 6,500,000 human beings, and which cannot be destroyed without destroying the peace and prosperity of nearly half the States of the Union, and involving their entire population in a deadly conflict, that must terminate either in the expulsion or extirpation of those who are the object of the misguided and false humanity of those who claim to be their friends.

"He must be blind, indeed, who does not perceive that the subversion of a relation which must be followed with such disastrous consequences can only be effected by convulsions that would devastate the country, burst asunder the bonds of the Union, and engulf, in a sea of blood, the institutions of the country. It is madness to suppose that the slaveholding States would quietly submit to be sacrificed. Every consideration—interest, duty, and humanity, the love of country, the sense of wrong, hatred of oppressors, and treacherous and faithless confederates, and, finally, despair, would impel them to the most daring and desperate resistance in defence of property, family, country, liberty, and existence."

We say nothing of the doctrines contained generally in this Report of Mr. Calhoun. We say nothing of speculations concerning the amount of property, which by the abolition of slavery would be lost to the people of the South. But we invite attention to the sentences in italics as expressing the great universal objection in the South against the doctrines of the Abolitionists. We ask all, especially our Northern Friends, to consider whether there is not *force in the objection?* Whether if the objection be not laid in the principles of human nature; the belief, almost unanimous in the South, that it is so laid, does not, while that belief continues, render the objection insurmountable? Whether, even if the solidity of this objection be viewed by some as doubtful or imaginary, they can reasonably expect that it will be yielded by the South to the arguments and appeals of the Northern Abolitionists? Whether, unless this objection be yielded, even supposing it unsound, the efforts of the Northern Abolition Societies must not tend to endanger the Union and the peace of the South? Whe-

ther recent expressions of sentiment at the South afford a single ray of hope that it will be abandoned? Whether, even in case the South should, as by some supernatural influence, give up all her deep founded and long established opinions on this subject, and yield to a policy which, as fatal to her dearest interests, she now resists, the consequences must not be less beneficial to the interest of any and all parties concerned, to the cause of human liberty and human happiness, than a scheme, which looking to the voluntary separation of the coloured from the white population of the United States, and the colonization of the former in the country of their fathers, necessarily compasses a wider range and embraces far more numerous objects of good?

Did we seek to recommend the Colonization policy to the reason and regards of the South, we could select no argument more weighty than that embodied in the opinion of Mr. Calhoun. Must not every enlightened citizen of the South know that many and mighty causes are abroad to disturb the system, which it is said can at no time be safely abolished if those subject to it are to remain on our soil? If in any land such a system can be perpetual, it cannot be so here. Nor ought it to be perpetual. State necessity cannot be rightly urged in justification of that which must limit forever the influence and annul the predictions of the Word of God. Since Providence and Revelation are allies, the order of the one can never contravene the declarations of the other. And it is an article of our Faith, that the goodness and truth of God are pledged to prepare men of every race and condition for freedom, and then to confer on them the privilege. As Christians we may cooperate in this divine work. *Time*, and *caution*, and *preparation* may be *necessary*. The highest wisdom may be required to reconcile great and apparently conflicting interests.—But we may be no less bound to advocate and promote measures favourable to general liberty, *yet consistent with the peace and safety of the State*, than to oppose the shocks of a sudden or violent revolution. If the people of colour may not enjoy freedom in this country, they may, if permitted, enjoy it elsewhere. If to endeavour to give perpetuity to a system of domestic servitude be alike contrary to reason, to interest, and to right, and if to abolish it and suffer the liberated to remain with us, be impracticable without exposure to far greater evils and the endangering the very existence of the State, (the doctrine of Mr. Calhoun) surely the scheme of Colonization is alone suited to the circumstances and necessities of the South, and worthy of the generous and undivided support of that section of the Union.—Let not the efficiency of this scheme be doubted. It is limited by nothing but the will of the American people. A sum equal to half the surplus revenue of the country, annually applied to the object for a few years, would place it not only beyond the liability of failure, but give it a self-sustaining and self-moving power not to be checked, and limited only in its benefits by the number of the freed people of colour and the possible extent of their future possessions and influence in Africa. An overflowing tide of voluntary emigrants would bear our arts, language, liberty, and religion to that land of barbarians, and rekindle there the well nigh extinguished hopes of the African race.

Some may deem it no special duty of ours, to discuss in any way the question of human rights. But to show that the scheme of colonizing the free people of colour of the United States, with their own consent, in Africa or elsewhere, is (as a national and main plan, at present, of good to ourselves and to the African race) the best plan yet submitted to the public, we consider an urgent and solemn duty. On all questions involved in the relations of our coloured population, men are forming opinions. Opinion on this whole subject is every thing. Let the opinion of the entire South be opposed to the opinion of the entire North upon it, and the greatest calamities are to be apprehended. Nor is it less clear, that the favour and support of the South are indispensable to the success of *any measures* of general good to the people of colour.

We agree with an able writer (Dr. Channing) that "the first question to be proposed by a rational being is not what is profitable, but what is right?" That "to States, as to individuals, rectitude is the supreme law;" That "it was never designed that the public good, as disjoined from this, as distinct from justice and reverence for all rights, should be comprehended and made our end;" That "Statesmen work in the dark, until the idea of right towers above expediency or wealth." But we think these dogmas by no means settle the questions of duty arising from the character, relations, and circumstances of our coloured population. Indeed this eloquent writer (as well as others) seems to us obscure, if not inconsistent, through imperfect apprehension of the foundation of human rights. Hence, on one page we read "The supreme law of a State is *not its safety*, its power, its prosperity, its affluence, the flourishing state of agriculture, commerce, and the arts;" on another, in reply to the inquiry "whether in seasons of imminent peril to the State, private rights must not give way?" it is admitted, "that extreme cases may occur, in which the exercise of rights and freedom may be suspended; but suspended only for their ultimate and permanent security. But in these cases, the great idea of Rights predominates amidst their apparent subversion. A power above all laws is conferred, only that the empire of law may be restored. Despotic restraints are imposed only that Liberty may be secured from ruin. All rights are involved in the safety of the State, and hence in the cases referred to, *the safety of the State becomes the supreme law.*" The words which we have marked show the obscurity or inconsistency to which we have alluded. Though the opinion of Dr. Channing on the rights of man appears strongly to favour the doctrine of immediate unconditional emancipation, yet there are passages in his writings, *unreconcilable with this opinion*. "Slavery," he observes, "in the age of the Apostles, had so penetrated Society, was so intimately interwoven with it, and the materials of servile war were so abundant, that a religion preaching freedom to its victims, would have shaken the social fabric to its foundations, and would have armed against itself the whole power of the State. Of consequence Paul did not assail it. He satisfied himself with spreading principles which, however slowly, could not but work its destruction." Again, "There are masters who have thrown off the natural prejudices of their position, who see slavery as it is, and who hold the slave chiefly, if not wholly, from dis-

interested considerations; *and these deserve great praise.*" And what is the language of this Author in his review of Milton? "We consider our religion as decidedly hostile to this practice (polygamy), and we add, what seems to us of great importance, that this hostility is not the less decided, because no express prohibition of polygamy is found in the New Testament; for Christianity is not a system of precise legislation, marking out with literal exactness every thing to be avoided; but an inculcation of broad principles, which it intrusts to individuals and to society, to be applied according to their best discretion. It is through this generous peculiarity, that Christianity is fitted to be a universal religion. Through this, it can subsist and blend itself with all stages of society, and can live in the midst of abuses, which it silently and powerfully overcomes, but against which it would avail little, were it immediately to lift up the voice of denunciation. We all know that long cherished corruptions, which have sent their roots through the whole frame of a community, cannot be torn up at once, without dissolving Society. To Christianity is committed the sublime office of eradicating all the errors and evils of the world; but this it does by a process corresponding with man's nature, by working a gradual revolution in the mind, which, in its turn, works a safe and effectual revolution in manners and life. No argument, therefore, in favour of a practice, can be adduced from the fact, that it is not explicitly reprobated in the New Testament. For example, Christianity went forth into communities, where multitudes were held in slavery, and all ranks were ground and oppressed by despotism; abuses on which the spirit of our religion frowns as sternly, as on any which can be named. Yet Christianity did not command the master to free his slaves or the despot to descend from his absolute throne; but satisfied itself with proclaiming sublime truths in regard to God's paternal character and administration, and broad and generous principles of action, leaving to these the work of breaking every chain by a gradual, inward, irresistible influence, and of asserting the essential equality and unalienable rights of the whole human race."

Who does not see that in these quotations discretion and prudence, in reference to measures for the removal of great social and political evils, are acknowledged to be sanctioned by Christianity? And (if our recollection be correct) Dr. Wayland, in his recent and able work on Moral Philosophy, while he holds to the right of the slave to immediate freedom, admits that under the obligation of benevolence, the master may and ought, in many cases, for a time, to retain him in servitude.

"The sense of duty," says Dr. Channing, "is the fountain of human rights. In other words, the same inward principle, which teaches the former, bears witness to the latter. Duties and rights must stand or fall together. It has been too common to oppose them to one another; but they are indissolubly joined together. That same inward principle, which teaches a man what he is bound to do to others, teaches equally and at the same instant, what others are bound to do to *him*. That same voice, which forbids him to injure a single fellow creature, forbids every fellow creature to do *him* harm."

In this, and the preceding quotations, as indeed in most which we have seen recently published in regard to human rights, we discern

less clearness and accuracy of conception than a subject of such vast moment would seem to demand. Certainly it is because man is capable of duty that he is bound to perform it, and because the law of reason and revelation which binds one man to love another equally binds that other to love him, that every man, while obliged in duty to exhibit benevolence towards others, has a right that such benevolence should be exercised towards him. There is nothing abstract in this. The mutual relations of man to man are presupposed, or rather the *existence of society*. That very rule of Christ, which all his disciples must regard as the perfection of the "law of nature and nations," implies that men exist together, subject mutually to act and react upon each other. But though this law be simple, most intelligible, immutable and eternal, we know that it *sanctions actions various almost as the changing circumstances of human life*. This divine law binds men every where, in all possible circumstances, to love their neighbors as themselves; but does not, because it could not, prescribe the endless modes of action by which they should reciprocally manifest their love. This law governs the motives and intentions in all conduct, and teaches how we may guard their purity, rather than prescribes the particular actions by which our benevolence may most usefully be expressed. To treat man as though he were not such, must in all circumstances violate the spirit of this law. To obey this law, however, we must *exercise our reason*, for unless without this we can judge what will be for our own good, how can we decide what will be for our neighbour's good, since our honest judgment of what, in an exchange of circumstances, we might reasonably desire him to do for *us*, is to determine what we ought to do for *him*? We are to make his case our own. We are to consider that his interests are as precious as ours. But to judge correctly what course of action will best promote our interests or his, in many cases requires consideration, and in some, *rare wisdom and sagacity*; and as our sober judgment of our own interest (formed from a knowledge of facts, and enlightened by experience,) would never willingly be yielded to a mere abstract *theory* of rights, neither should we to such theory sacrifice the interests of others. The law of Christ binding us to do to others as we would that they should do to us, certainly does *not* mean that the parent should obey the child, or the child rule the parent; that the rich should exchange places with the poor; or that all classes and descriptions of men should be brought by some equalizing process to one exact level of rights and privileges. But it *does* mean, that one spirit of reciprocal benevolence should animate the bosoms of all, and, governing each and every mind in the innumerable and ever varying circumstances and relations of society, should produce throughout all the communities of men the highest happiness possible in the present life.

"The rights of men," says Mr. Burke, "are in a sort of middle, incapable of definition, but not impossible to be discerned. The rights of men in governments are their advantages, and these are often in balances between differences of good, in compromises between good and evil, and sometimes between evil and evil." While the State, no less than the individual, should aim at perfection in its policy, it may (by the errors and crimes of past generations) have been thrown into a

condition leaving only the choice between the toleration to some extent, and for a time, of existing evils, and certain exposure to greater evils both moral and physical. The State may now be enduring evils that were deep seated in the body politic before the existence of the present living depositaries of its power. *These* hold the power in a system of things framed and organized before their birth. That this system had origin and now exists, is no fault of theirs; for without their choice they are in it and of it, and must take things as they find them. Nor let it be forgotten that the State is a "permanent body made up of transitory parts," and that to remedy the evils which pervade it, wisdom ordinarily dictates that we "follow the method of nature," and by mild and gradual changes (being "in what we improve never wholly new, and in what we retain never wholly obsolete,") finally effect that mighty transmutation which will leave untarnished the character, and irreproachable the operations of Society.

We must be permitted to invite attention to the following passage from one who was as deep in philosophy as lofty in eloquence. Alluding to certain enthusiasts (we use the mildest term) of his day, he observes, "By these theorists the right of the people is almost always sophistically confounded with their power. The body of the community, whenever it can come to act, can meet with no effectual resistance. But till power and right are the same, *the whole body of them has no right inconsistent with virtue, and the first of all virtues, Prudence. Men have no right to what is not reasonable, and to what is not for their benefit*; for though a pleasant writer said *liceat perire poetis*, when one of them in cold blood is said to have leaped into the flames of a volcanic revolution, *ardentem frigidus Aetnam insiluit*, I consider such a frolic rather as an unjustifiable poetic license, than as one of the franchises of Parnassus; and whether he were Poet or Divine, or Politician, that chose to exercise this kind of right, I think that more wise because more charitable thoughts would urge me rather to save the man than to preserve his brazen slippers as the monuments of his folly."

Neither time nor limits will permit us to discuss fully three distinct questions relative to this general subject, *first*, what is the duty of the people of the North?—*second*, the duty of *individuals* at the South?—and *third*, the duty of the slaveholding *States*? Each of these questions would afford, in our opinion, a distinct subject for investigation. By *some* at least, the clearest and most important distinctions on this great subject seem to us confounded in one wild and furious war upon Slavery. The principles of these men, carried out fully, would subvert every Government in the world.

The right of a sober, philosophical, and Christian discussion of all subjects, should not, in our opinion, any where, nor by any legislation be restrained. He who ventures, however, to discuss questions of vast magnitude, and vital interest to the public, should deem himself, and be viewed by others, as responsible to God and his country. He has no moral right to turn the freedom of the Press, designed for the defence, to the destruction of his Country.

Our opinion we will not conceal, that nothing will effectually quiet the nation, and restore again the harmony which once did and should

ever exist between the North and the South, but more united and vigorous efforts among the friends of African Colonization to secure the ascendancy of their principles in the judgment, and the adoption of their policy, by the will of the American people. Abolition is only to be cast out by the expulsive power of a new affection. We must show to the minds of all thinking men, a more excellent way. Our institutions, the press, the opinions of our times, and the spirit of Christianity, must be working in favour of the cause of General Liberty; and if there be, as Mr. Calhoun thinks, an absolute and justifiable necessity at present for the relation which exists between the two races at the South, it is the strongest possible argument why a country and home should be provided elsewhere, to which free men of colour and such as may hereafter be liberated may be sent, with advantage alike to the nation they leave, and to themselves, their posterity, and their race.

We conclude these observations with two or three sentences from a letter, written by a very intelligent gentleman at the South:—

"I saw the extracts from Dr. Channing's book in Mr. Leigh's speech: that is all I have seen of it. Slavery in the abstract, you know, I do *ex animo* detest. * * * The abolition sentiment prevalent at the North, is cumbered in my mind, in the first place, with two causes of prejudice. 1st. It originated, as far as I know, with rash unphilosophical ultra men, who have not my confidence. 2d. It seems uniformly to have been advocated by the use of intemperate and unkind language—and, on the whole, in a bad spirit. And then as to the merits of the question itself. This abolition doctrine of the North seems to me to be utterly different from the analogy of human history in reference to such subjects. The slavery of ancient Greece and Rome is directly in point. It has disappeared like the baseless fabric of a vision. That is an important fact. Well, sacred and profane history are alike silent about any direct attack upon it in any way, and especially by any voluntary association in the form of an Abolition Society. That is another important fact. * * *

"Colonization I regard as in perfect accordance with the whole analogy of human history, in and out of the Church,—and I think I may say, the pioneer of human improvement. I believe God regards it in this light—I believe he has so testified in the records of his Providence—and I believe that never was there set on foot an enterprise of colonization, more rational, more philosophical, or more Christian, than the Colonization of the Free People of colour of the United States on the coast of Africa."

LETTERS OF PROFESSOR ANDREWS.—This gentleman, a member of the Executive Committee of the American Union (Boston), has published a series of Letters on the Condition of the Coloured Population, and the Domestic Slave Trade. Mr. Andrews was Professor for several years in the University at Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The Boston Recorder speaks in high terms of these Letters.

ENLARGED VIEWS OF COLONIZATION.

The condition and prospects of our coloured population are exciting almost universal attention. The subject is agitating Congress and the State Legislatures. It is therefore important that the public should examine it, in all its extent and all its relations. It is desirable, if not absolutely necessary, for the public tranquillity, that there should be UNION in sentiment on this subject, among the wise and benevolent of the country. It certainly deserves to be considered whether measures, on a far larger scale than those hitherto adopted, will not be indispensable? Whether any plan except that of colonizing with their own consent the free people of colour, and slaves that may be liberated, in Africa or elsewhere, will *unite* the North and South in efforts ample enough and vigorous enough to meet the necessities of the case? We invite attention to the speculations and opinions contained in the following articles; and also to the letters of Mr. MADISON and Chief Justice MARSHALL, addressed some time ago to the Secretary of the Society, and republished in the present number of the Repository. The Memorial addressed to Congress, and printed by order of the Senate, is of much interest. We hope the Friends of the cause everywhere will reflect upon their duties in this day of inquiry and discussion on the great questions relative to the scheme and policy of the Society. It is important that all should form an opinion, and a just opinion, on the question, What should be the policy of those, to whom it belongs as a matter of right and duty to judge on the subject, towards our coloured population?

The Editor of the Colonization Herald, Philadelphia, inquires,

"What are we coming to? The increase of the coloured population is now about 60,000 annually. And if, as a united people, we apply ourselves to the work, with one heart and one hand, we can, by the application of \$5,000,000 a year, out of the revenue from the wild lands, transport the whole slave population to Liberia in less than thirty years. But in twenty-five years, the coloured population, in the territory alluded to, will be 5,015,000. Then the increase will be upwards of 150,000 a year: and the united nation will then be unable to remove them by colonization. To the members of Congress, then, we say, *NOW IS THE TIME*. You have an immense surplus revenue from the wild lands. The revenue from the wild lands is almost \$12,000,000 a year. The Providence of God removes every obstacle. An appropriation of \$5,000,000 a year, during peace, will secure the object. If any question is to sunder this Union, it is the question of slavery. If sectional jealousies are laid aside, and sectional interests forgotten, and the members from the South, and those from the North, will meet each other on this subject as brethren, and unite their efforts to save the country from the rapidly approaching ruin, the work will be done. But, while we say, *NOW IS THE TIME* to save the country, we also tell them, *AS SURE AS TIME ROLLS ON, IT IS NOW OR NEVER.*"

MEMORIAL OF THE CITIZENS OF DAUPHIN COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:

The subscribers respectfully beg leave to inform your honorable bodies that they were appointed a committee, by a large and respectable meeting of the citizens of Dauphin county, convened in the borough of Harrisburg, on the 28th day of August last, "to prepare a memorial to each House of Congress, praying the appropriation, by the General Government, of a sum sufficient to remove to Africa free negroes:

willing to remove, and manumitted slaves, equal in amount to the whole annual increase of the coloured population of this country, and, also, such additional number as, in the wisdom of Congress, the finances of the nation, and other considerations, may justify; if, in their opinion, the constitution of the United States will justify such appropriations, and, if not, then to adopt measures to effect such an alteration of it as will authorize the measure." In discharging the duty confided to us by our fellow-citizens, we cannot forbear remarking that we are fully aware of the difficult, delicate, and important nature of the subject to which we are commissioned to invite your attention. Considered by minds of cool, discriminating reflection, it presents nothing but a simple question of *expediency*, devoid of all feeling, interest, and passion, but involved, as some may regard it, in its consequences, with other questions of vital concern to a large portion of our brethren of the Union. We are impressed with a lively fear of the possibility that its nature may be mistaken, its tendency misconceived, and the motives which prompted it, misrepresented or calumniated. Anxious to avoid the remotest possibility of a misunderstanding on these points, we will state, explicitly and unreservedly, that it is not the design, nor do we believe it will be the effect, of granting the object sought by this memorial, to touch, directly or indirectly, the vested rights or interests of any man, or community of men, in the United States, except eventually those of the free or manumitted negroes living among us. It would be as impolitic as it would be repugnant to our feelings of respect and justice to our Southern brethren, to solicit the interference of Congress in their domestic concerns. However unfortunate we may deem their condition, it is still one which no legislative body has the power of altering or controlling, but their own State Legislatures. They, and they alone, as the representatives of the people; have the right of applying correctives, if evils exist, and they, and they alone, are responsible for the consequences of their continuance. The removal of the free negroes in this country from among the white population is a matter in which the citizens of every State in the Union must feel a deep solicitude, as it is one on which the safety, harmony, and good order of society materially depend. Occupying a subordinate station, destitute of means, motives, and energy of character, essential to an improvement of their condition, they are now, and must continue to be, with few exceptions, the most worthless and degraded portion of society. The calendars of our gaols and penitentiaries, and the records of our poor-houses, bear ample testimony to this truth.

The relative proportion of negro criminals and paupers in every State of the Union, on a comparison of the number of black and white population, is a melancholy, but instructive commentary on their condition. We need say nothing further, than merely to advert to this fact, for the purpose of showing the extent and magnitude of the evil which we call on you to redress. It affects us in its operation as a nation, and by national intervention only can it be removed. To ensure the aid of the General Government, it appears to us that these three positions are to be established: 1st. Is it expedient to carry into execution the purpose for which we are appointed to address you? Is it feasible to do it with success? And does Congress possess the power necessary for the purpose?

In addition to the foregoing observations, the expediency of the measure may be further proven by other reasons, no less cogent and alarming. There are at present, in the United States about *two millions seven hundred and fifty thousand* free blacks and slaves; which number will augment, at the rate of the last ten years' increase, to the enormous and fearful number of more than ten millions in forty years from the present time! As the whole mass of coloured population grows in number, the free and manumitted portion of it will accelerate its increase to an appalling degree of rapidity, operated upon, as it will be, by various causes; and if already this miserable caste crowd our prisons and poor-houses, corrupting by their vicious and idle example, one part of the community, and depending for subsistence on the depredation or charity of the other part, how much more lamentable and hopeless is the condition to which the free white population of this country is hastening, than that which it has at present reached, but which is confessedly fraught with such difficulties and dangers. These are not the only evils which threaten us. Can human foresight be so short—can human reason be so weak, as not to perceive the portentous change in our condition, when a population of blacks, amounting to more than ten millions, exist among us, with all the means and motives which they will possess to disturb the peace and tranquillity of society, or to take part with our enemies in seasons of war with foreign Powers.

The nation of American blacks will then outnumber the nation of American free-

men who challenged and defeated the giant power of England on their own soil, and on the seas—who established a republic unparalleled in the history of the world—who reared innumerable towns and cities, constructed works of internal improvement more useful and stupendous than any other nations of the same age—who enlarged the empire of the arts and sciences, almost one-half beyond its former boundaries, in less than a single century—and who gloried in teaching the other nations of the world their duties and their rights. Who will be so hardy as to maintain that this vast mass of *ten millions* of human beings, however inferior they may be in natural and acquired intellectual power, will repose quietly in their state of degradation, submit to the servile conditions imposed on their existence, cower humbly under the uplifted hand of the white man, and remain forever ignorant and inert, amidst the universal activity of enterprise and beneath the noontide blaze of science, light, and liberty? Such a population might be harmless under the benighted tyrannies of the old world, but that man must be ignorant of human nature—he must be blind to the irresistible energies which freedom imparts to the humblest human mind—he must forget the history of his country, who does not know that it is far different here.

[The Memorialists then allude to the spread of knowledge among our coloured population, and to the various causes which are at work to stir the elements of strife, and endanger the peace of a large portion of the Union. They proceed:—]

Sympathy, when rightly directed, the most estimable of the virtues, but when misdirected, one of the most dangerous influences which can control the mind of man, is arousing into action the passions and prejudices of a party vigorously acquiring strength and influence, whose action unchecked, will shortly defy stay or control.

You have witnessed its developement in all quarters of the land. By its efforts, the North is trembling in agitation, and the South is in a flame of phrensy and desperation. The bloody tragedy of Southampton haunts their midnight slumbers at the South; and contemplated scenes of widespread conflagration and ruin excite a constant alarm. The General Government is invoked to protect the South, through one of its Departments, against endeavors, the consequences of which no one can foretell. It is of no avail, that a majority of the citizens of the Northern States neither advise nor participate in their proceedings. Those who do are shielded by the free principles of our constitution, and act under no other restraint than their own sense of justice furnishes. To allow this discussion and agitation of the subject to take full range, or to remove the cause itself, are the only alternatives left. No remedy can be afforded which will do aught but postpone the fatal crisis a few years; it will come upon us or upon our children, as certain as the present generation neglects to eradicate the cause.

We have foreborne to offer a single observation upon the justice of the measure we recommend. We say nothing of the duty we owe to the degraded and friendless free blacks of this country, to return them to the land of their fathers, where they may enjoy, unmolested, that equality of rights and dignity which they appeal to our declaration of independence as proving to be their natural inheritance. We leave the benefits which the blacks themselves are to receive entirely out of consideration, and present the subject to your view, exclusively in the light of politic expediency for our own adoption. On this basis we rest this part of the argument, and cheerfully leave the expediency, nay necessity of our application, to stand or fall, as it is supported by duty, justice, and truth.

Secondly. The feasibility of removing the free blacks and manumitted slaves, according to the design of the resolution under which we act, is, we apprehend, very readily demonstrated.

The entire black population of this country, at present, as above stated, is about two and three-quarter millions; the annual increase of which, at the rate of increase during the last ten years, is about 70,000.

These may be removed to Liberia, or to some other part of the coast of Africa, and maintained there for six months, at an average price of about \$30 for each person, or at a gross amount of less than two millions and a half of dollars. Perhaps a portion of the national vessels might be employed in the transportation of them and thus reduce the sum still lower. No difficulty can arise in procuring a sufficient number of free blacks and manumitted slaves for removal. Thousands are now ready to go, if means were provided, and thousands more would be manumitted by their masters on condition of their immediate transportation from the country. The expense of their maintenance, till they can support themselves in Africa, will be mere nothing. The soil of Liberia is fertile beyond measure; the climate salubri-

ous and genial, the very one which the God of nature designed them to enjoy. A regular Government, based on principles of freedom, fashioned after our own perfect model, is established there, and will stretch forth its hands to receive and welcome the negro back to his father land.

The Treasury of the General Government is full to overflowing. The national debt is extinguished; the resources and enterprise of the American people unparalleled; their means more than equal to the task; their policy and safety demanding its accomplishment: who can doubt their readiness and ability to embark in this undertaking?

At present, the evil is within the reach of remedy, but, before another generation passes away, it will be incurable.

In the 3d place: Does Congress possess the power necessary for the purpose? This question, like all others arising out of the construction of those powers in the constitution not clearly, unequivocally, and plainly delegated, must be viewed through the medium of prejudices, preconceived opinions, jealousy, and local interest, which embarrass its discussion with never-ending doubts and difficulties. We shall not enter upon an argument to sustain the affirmative of this proposition, further than to remark that, if the objections existing to the power be insuperable, the amendment to the constitution may be speedily effected, should the object to be attained warrant it. We cannot omit suggesting that there is one source from which enough may be drawn to execute this purpose without trespassing on the constitution—we mean the revenue derived from the *public lands*. No objections, we trust, from any quarter, will be started to this measure; for the States to be benefited most, are those whose cession created the fund to be resorted to, and all are to be benefited to the full proportion of their interest in it.

In this opinion we are supported by the concurrence of some of the most distinguished lawyers and statesmen who ever adorned this or any country. The legislatures of eleven States have, at different times, instructed their Senators, and requested their Representatives in Congress, to promote, in the General Government, measures for removing such free persons of colour as are desirous of emigrating to Africa; and the Legislatures of fourteen States have passed resolutions approving of the scheme of colonizing the free coloured population of this country, and most of them approving of the objects of the Colonization Society. These considerations, we think, must satisfy your honorable bodies that our application is fully sanctioned by general public sentiment, and that your action on this subject will receive the universal commendation of your fellow-citizens.

In conclusion, we take occasion to assure you, as the result of our impression from past experience, that we consider individual efforts entirely inadequate to the achievement of this great work of patriotism and philanthropy. If ever done at all, it must be by the aid of the governmental arm—let that be extended, and our country will be rescued from the gulf of inextricable confusion, servile war, and bloodshed, into which it is fast plunging. We earnestly appeal to you, as you regard the liberty of your children, as you feel for the degraded condition of the negroes in this country, as you revere the free institutions under which we live, and as you hope for their perpetuation, to adopt some means for the removal of the blacks, either such as we recommend, or such as your own wisdom may suggest, better suited to the purpose; or, if you should consider the possession of the power questionable, we pray you to take the necessary steps for the amendment of the constitution to authorize the action of Congress upon the subject.

And, as in duty bound, we will ever pray, &c.

OVID F. JOHNSON,	A. MAHON,
GEO. W. HARRIS,	A. M. PIPER,
CALVIN BLYTHE,	JACOB B. WEIDMAN,
CHARLES C. RAWN,	JNO. M. FORSTER.

HARRISBURG, January 16, 1836.

[From the Landmark.]

The evidence has now so nearly reached the point of moral certainty, that the coast of Western Africa will, at a date not very remote, be covered with a dense and enterprising population, composed partly of emigrants from the United States, and partly of native Africans, that it may be calculated upon, even as a field of

speculation, with more safety than falls to the lot of most of the pecuniary adventures of the day. If the government of the United States should deem it a wise, humane, and righteous thing, to throw that coast into a condition to be an alluring and bappy home to such of the coloured population of the country as may choose to migrate thither, there can be no doubt that it may be done with perfect safety to the national treasury. In my serious belief, such a measure may be adopted, and carried gradually and ere long rapidly into effect, which shall, beyond estimation, advance the best interests of the free coloured and slave portions of our community, and promote immensely the general welfare both of this nation and of Africa, and at the same time be in the end a saving concern. Perhaps my imagination is running loose with my judgment, and if so, they who are sober and calculating, and estimate probabilities by the plain matters of fact in the case, can judge.

I wish, by the way, to say, as a guard against misapprehension, that, in my opinion, the government are bound, in humanity and justice, to look at their duty in this matter, *irrespective of pecuniary indemnities*, and to place before the coloured population of this country, even at a large expense, a separate soil which shall be their own, and a distinct government, which shall be administered by themselves, where they may enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities of a free, self-governed, and self-educated people. The amalgamation of the races is out of the question here; the blacks despise the idea of intermarriages as much as we do; and two such races cannot dwell together without oppressing the one, or other. A choice of such a separate existence ought, in the generosity and magnanimity of the nation, to be offered to our coloured brethren. If they refuse it, we have done our duty; the responsibility is theirs.

This offer may be made them at once princely and munificent, on the part of our government, and yet by no means burdensome to our overgrown treasury. It may be done on the principle of a parental loan, a gift at the first, but which, beyond debate, would be returned, by the grateful child, in due time, with ample interest; for there can be little question that, with such arrangements as are easy and constitutionally within the power of the government, *the great mass of the coloured population would joyfully fly thither to enjoy the rich boon.*

Let the general plan be thus stated:—There are, we are told, \$16,000,000 of surplus revenue now in the treasury of the United States. With a portion of this alarming sum, a tract of country in Western Africa,—if you please, that lying between Cape Grand Mount on the north, and Cape Palmas on the south, and as far as may be obtained into the interior,—may be purchased with as much constitutionality as Louisiana was procured, and being secured by fair and honourable purchase, may be disposed of at the will of Congress. The purchase may be made for a song, and yet be more honourable than that by which our fathers came into possession of this soil. Such is the desire of schools among the natives throughout most of that extent of country, that they would willingly sell large tracts for the purpose of securing the means of education.

Let Congress appropriate \$1,000,000 to this enterprise, and appoint an able committee to superintend the business. Let this committee visit the coast of Africa in person, and examine for themselves, and make such purchases as they may think proper, of territory, and take possession of it in the name of the United States. Let it be a good agricultural tract, embracing a few fine harbours for commercial cities, and streams of water for manufactories. Let deeds be given, under the seal of the United States, to the present settlers of such lands as they possess; and half a million of dollars, or a quarter, more or less, according to the exigencies of the case, be expended in clearing up the soil, opening roads, erecting flour and saw mills, building school-houses and churches; proceeding with the preparations, on a large, or smaller scale, in proportion to the probable demand to be made by settlers.—The settlements and cities should be so arranged as to leave intervals between them, which may be of higher value, and constantly increasing in value, as the settlements, villages, and cities fill up. When the settlements have been put in a state fit for occupancy, by the erection of houses, the planting of coffee and cassada, and the laying out of corn and rice fields, let the lots be offered for sale to such coloured people of the United States as possess the enterprise and spirit to try the openings of Providence in such a field. I say, *for sale*; for in this way you will keep clear of lazy, vicious malcontents, and you will prove *who* are the men fit for the glorious work of founding an empire there. But let the price be merely nominal—*ten, twenty, thirty, fifty cents an acre, all cleared up, with pledges of six months provisions in advance, and some implements gratis for cultivating the soil.*

With such preparations and inducements, the great danger would be that there would be too great a rush for the prize. Too large a number, and perhaps of too doubtful a character, might fly upon the coast to their own injury. There are, however, two checks upon this fear, which would probably operate kindly in keeping emigration within due bounds.

One is, that, as a body, the free coloured people of this country have lost their spirit and energy, and do lack that force of character which is essential to create among them the bold and manly vigour which is carrying our white brethren to the West, to the Texas, to Canada, and to every nook and corner of the wide globe. So torpid have they become, that you might more easily overrun the whole continent of Africa with white men, if the climate were cool, and the native tribes were of a complexion to be amalgamated with them, than you can rouse up a thousand coloured men to plant themselves upon its most fertile spots. There are many noble exceptions among them to this remark; but not so many as to create fear, that the floods, pouring early upon these settlements, will threaten wide devastation.

The other check is, that God has suffered a body of ill-judging friends of the coloured man, to get up such a *prejudice* against African emigration, that none but the more discerning, who read, think, and examine for themselves, will very soon be likely to rise above it, and take possession of the treasure proffered them.

While these things will operate to prevent excess, there are, and ever will be, enough to occupy the soil as fast as it is made ready to their hands, and sold at a small bounty; and the time will not be distant when multitudes will joyfully pay the higher prices which will be consequent upon an increasing population and growing business.

To illustrate how easily the interest and principal of the parental loan, which shall be employed by the government in planting such an empire there, may be returned, look at Boston, the site of which was bought, if I remember right, for thirty-six pounds sterling, or at the city of Cincinnati, which was purchased for \$100, and see the enormous price at which the unoccupied grounds are sold, and mark how the soil for many miles around them is enhanced in value. If an individual, owning the latter site, thirty years since, and a thousand acres around it, had laid out the plan of the city, and built steam-engines, and opened roads, and erected numerous dwelling houses, stores, churches, &c., in different streets of it, and then had given them all away to such enterprising men as have gone thither, and had possessed the means of waiting for its returns, he would have made an immense fortune in the augmented value of the lands yet in his possession, and at the same time have sold them greatly to the advantage of the purchaser.

The same, upon a large scale, may be witnessed in Africa, as the *pecuniary returns* of the enterprise which I have sketched. The government can appropriate forthwith \$5,000,000 to this object, and still be perilously rich. If no returns are realized even in thirty years, we shall not suffer, we have means enough; and the nation is not a man that she should die, but a personage that must live long, and reap in future generations the fruits of her present wisdom or folly.

In my next I shall speak of the course which the settlement, thus planted on the coast of Africa, may take in respect to its *government, education, religion, and temperance*; and of the kind of influence which Congress, in establishing it, may exercise upon its character and destiny in these particulars.

Danvers, Nov. 28, 1835.

S.

COLONIZATION AND ABOLITION.

[From the *Pittsburg Christian Herald*.]

The subject, indicated by the above caption, has now assumed an interest, an importance, and an attitude, that cannot, perhaps ought not, to be either suppressed or evaded. In their discussion, however, as in the discussion of other disputed points, much extraneous and irrelevant matter is often introduced, and not unfrequently made to bear in the minds of the multitude, with more decisive effect upon the main question, than the most legitimate and appropriate arguments. Few, or rather perhaps in the free states almost none, are found openly to justify slavery, in principle or in practice, although they may not, and indeed ought not to admit all the exaggerated and extravagant reports that are circulated respecting it—reports which appear frequently to be retailed merely for effect, and to awaken feelings that are well under-

stood, and require here no definition or illustration. Even in the slave states, many, very many, admit the evils of slavery, and long and sigh for the removal of the whole system, with all its appendages and consequences. Neither do we believe that the rash and unwarrantable language of a few prominent and excited men, ought to be taken as the calm and deliberate expression of southern sentiment. If we could so believe, although it would not justify opposite extremes, it would induce a quite different view of the subject, from what we have yet taken. But we have known governor M'Duffie, of S. C., in early life, as well as some of his compeers, and we have known many of the bone and sinew of that state, who, at least in those times, cherished a very different spirit; and we have satisfactory evidence that they do so still. But, when the evils of slavery are admitted, we can see no desirable object in contending about the degree in which it exists—the right of free discussion—and other topics not belonging to the subject, except merely, as we have said, for effect. Abolitionists say that slavery is an evil; so say the colonizationists: but the question immediately arises, if it is an evil, what is the best way to remove it, that the least injury and most good may be the result to all concerned? We cannot avoid, however, a remark in this place, viz: That should it be found that governor M'Duffie has expressed the candid and deliberate opinion of southern men generally, it would to a great degree, if not entirely, disarm their friends in the north, and detach thousands from their standard. That is, if the position is assumed, that the practice of slavery, abstractly considered, is right and its continuance to be interminable, there will be few found, except those blinded by interest and absorbed in selfishness, to realize the justice of the proposition, or defend its practice. But if we agree respecting the fact of its being an evil, the question of the means for its removal immediately arises and arises with thrilling and absorbing interest. The evil of slavery is admitted in the very foundation of the Colonization Society, and to demonstrate the practicability of its removal, that society was organized, and we risk nothing in the assertion that either of the modes proposed, viz: of abolition or colonization, would effect the object, if the united action of our citizens could be secured in its favor. This unity of effort is all that is wanting to terminate the present system of slavery and all the excitement arising from its agitation.

Were the slave-holders of the south agreed, it would be no hard matter to break every yoke, to snap every chain, and to bid the captive go free. But there are many things to consider in the accomplishment of such a purpose, which demand grave and deliberate attention. Is there any hope that the designs of abolitionists will be effected without violence? Is it true that in such a case we are not to regard consequences? We have not the least hope that slavery on the abolition plan, is at all likely to be terminated without violence, and that too of the most appalling character; and we have as little thought that we can be indifferent to consequences without deep and aggravated guilt. If, however, these difficulties were surmounted, and the slaves of our country with one accord were delivered from bondage, can they be elevated to an equality with the whites? can they, while in this country, be divested of the odium of inferior and degraded caste? We unhesitatingly say, they cannot on any other principle than that of amalgamation.

This has been and doubtless will be denounced as bigotry, prejudice, &c. Be it so. We do not speak of the disposition, we only assert the fact, and farther, that any removal of this prejudice that will place the coloured and the white population on the same elevation, in political, civil, and social privileges, will prepare the way fully for entire amalgamation, and any prejudice or principle that will prevent the latter, will with equal certainty prevent the former. Common sense may convince any reflecting mind of the reasonableness of this conclusion. Abolition therefore, as now proposed and conducted, involves the probability if not the certainty of civil warfare and a division of the states, and if successful, can never elevate the coloured man to an equality with the white, without degrading the white man to their level.

On the other hand, were all agreed, as we have supposed in the case of abolition, the colonization plan would accomplish the liberation of the slave with more certainty, more safety, and more utility. Most abolitionists admit the unfitness of the slave for immediate freedom, and were the united action of the American people brought to bear upon this subject, every free man of colour and every slave in the United States, could be transported to Africa in a less time than that which has been assumed in any of the estimates that have been laid before the public. By transporting those in the prime of life in preference to the aged and the young, the increase would be lessened, and Liberia would be able with the adjoining colonies to receive at any given period, greater numbers than were received the preceding

year. It might be questioned whether they would be willing to go. In our view this matter is the easiest part of the whole affair. As information would increase, and the colony spread itself along the African coast, the tide of emigration would swell, and many of those who are able would go at their own expense, which would increase the facilities for that purpose. The advantages of this plan would be, that the people of the south, seeing the operation of it in respect to those who had freed their slaves, and the example placed before them, would be much sooner convinced of its expediency, than by any thing abolitionists can say—slaves would be liberated as fast as they could be prepared for it and sent away—time would be allowed for the planters to replace or fill up their place with laborers from the north and from Europe—the African slave trade would be broken up as far as the colonies would extend—the negro in the land of his fathers, would stand on the same elevation with the rest of his brethren—and liberty, civilization, science, and christianity would scatter the darkness from Africa, and then kidnapping, man-stealing, and slavery would be known no more. This plan also has another advantage, in doing no violence to the feelings or principles of master or servant. It sends them with their own consent, and violence is unknown, so that no bad feelings are awakened between the states or the citizens of the states. From this view it will be seen that we make no plea for slavery, but in our attempts to banish it from our land and from the world, we wish as much as practicable to avoid other evils. To us there is scarcely any truth more clear, than that one of these plans is deeply laden with calamities of most tremendous import, which cannot be avoided if the object is pursued according to its spirit, while the other asks no more than general consent and general aid, to make it an unspeakable blessing to two continents and all colours, and to convey to Africa and her sons, blessings to which we can set no limits of measure, number, or end.

LETTERS FROM EX-PRESIDENT MADISON AND CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

MONTPELIER, December 29, 1831.

Dear Sir: I received, in due time, your letter of the 21st ult., and with due sensibility to the subject of it. Such, however, has been the effect of a painful rheumatism on my general condition, as well as in disqualifying my fingers for the use of the pen, that I could not do justice "to the principles and measures of the Colonization Society in all the great and various relations they sustain to our own country and to Africa," if my views of them could have the value which your partiality supposes. I may observe, in brief, that the Society had always my good wishes, though with hopes of its success less sanguine than were entertained by others found to have been the better judges; and that I feel the greatest pleasure at the progress already made by the Society, and the encouragement to encounter remaining difficulties afforded by the earlier and greater ones already overcome. Many circumstances at the present moment seem to concur in brightening the prospects of the Society and cherishing the hope that the time will come, when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace and the general satisfaction: thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example. I never considered the main difficulty of the great work as lying in the deficiency of emancipations, but in an inadequacy of asylums for such a growing mass of population, and in the great expense of removing it to its new home. The spirit of private manumission, as the laws may permit and the exiles may consent, is increasing and will increase; and there are sufficient indications that the public authorities in slaveholding States are looking forward to interpositions in different forms that must have a powerful effect. With respect to the new abode for emigrants, all agree that the choice made by the Society is rendered peculiarly appropriate by considerations which need not be repeated, and if other situations should not be found eligible receptacles for a portion of them, the prospects in Africa seem to be expanding in a highly encouraging degree.

In contemplating the pecuniary resources needed for the removal of such a number to so great a distance, my thoughts and hopes have been long turned to the rich fund presented in the western lands of the Nation, which will soon entirely cease to be under a pledge for another object. The great one in question is truly of a

national character, and it is known that distinguished patriots not dwelling in slave-holding States have viewed the object in that light, and would be willing to let the national domain be a resource in effecting it.

Should it be remarked that the States, though all may be interested in relieving our country from the coloured population, they are not equally so, it is but fair to recollect, that the sections most to be benefited, are those whose cessions created the fund to be disposed of.

I am aware of the constitutional obstacle which has presented itself; but if the general will be reconciled to an application of the territorial fund to the removal of the coloured population, a grant to Congress of the necessary authority could be carried, with little delay, through the forms of the Constitution.

Sincerely wishing an increasing success to the labors of the Society, I pray you to be assured of my esteem, and to accept my friendly salutations.

JAMES MADISON.

RICHMOND, Dec. 14, 1831.

Dear Sir: I received your letter of the 7th, in the course of the mail, but it was not accompanied by the documents you mention.

I undoubtedly feel a deep interest in the success of the Society; but, if I had not long since formed a resolution against appearing in print on any occasion, I should now be unable to comply with your request. In addition to various occupations which press on me very seriously, the present state of my family is such as to prevent my attempting to prepare any thing for publication.

The great object of the Society, I presume, is to obtain pecuniary aids. Application will undoubtedly be made, I hope successfully, to the several State Legislatures by the Societies formed within them respectively. It is extremely desirable that they should pass permanent laws on the subject, and the excitement produced by the late insurrection makes this a favorable moment for the friends of the Colony to press for such acts. It would be also desirable, if such a direction could be given to State Legislation as might have some tendency to incline the people of colour to migrate. This, however, is a subject of much delicacy. Whatever may be the success of our endeavors to obtain acts for permanent aids, I have no doubt that our applications for immediate contributions will receive attention. It is possible, though not probable, that more people of colour may be disposed to migrate than can be provided for with the funds the Society may be enabled to command. Under this impression I suggested, some years past, to one or two of the Board of Managers, to allow a small additional bounty in lands to those who would pay their own passage in whole or in part. The suggestion, however, was not approved.

It is undoubtedly of great importance to retain the countenance and protection of the General Government. Some of our cruisers stationed on the coast of Africa would, at the same time, interrupt the slave trade—a horrid traffic, detested by all good men—and would protect the vessels and commerce of the Colony from pirates who infest those seas. The power of the Government to afford this aid is not, I believe, contested. I regret that its power to grant pecuniary aid is not equally free from question. On this subject, I have always thought, and still think, that the proposition made by Mr. King, in the Senate, is the most unexceptionable, and the most effective that can be devised.*

The fund would probably operate as rapidly as would be desirable, when we take into view the other resources which might come in aid of it, and its application would be, perhaps, less exposed to those constitutional objections which are

* Resolution submitted for consideration in the Senate of the United States, 18th February, 1825, by Mr. King of New York.

Resolved by the Senate of the United States of America, That, as soon as the portion of the existing funded debt of the United States, for the payment of which the public land of the United States is pledged, shall have been paid off; then, and thenceforth, the whole of the public land of the United States, with the nett proceeds of all future sales thereof, shall constitute and form a Fund, which is hereby appropriated, and the faith of the United States is pledged, that the said Fund shall be inviolably applied, to aid the emancipation of such Slaves, within any of the United States, and aid the removal of such Slaves, and the removal of such Free Persons of colour, in any of the said States, as, by the laws of the States, respectively, may be allowed to be emancipated or removed, to any territory or country without the limits of the United States of America.

made in the South than the application of money drawn from the Treasury and raised by taxes. The lands are the property of the United States, and have heretofore been disposed of by the Government under the idea of absolute ownership. The cessions of the several States convey them to the General Government for the common benefit, without prescribing any limits to the judgment of Congress, or any rule by which that judgment shall be exercised. The cession of Virginia indeed seems to look to an apportionment of the fund among the States, "according to their several respective proportions in the general charge and expenditure."—But this cession was made at a time when the lands were believed to be the only available fund for paying the debts of the United States and supporting their Government. This condition has probably been supposed to be controlled by the existing Constitution, which gives Congress "power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories or the property belonging to the U. States. It is certain that the donations made for roads and colleges are not in proportion to the part borne by each State of the general expenditure. The removal of our coloured population is, I think, a common object, by no means confined to the slave States, although they are more immediately interested in it. The whole Union would be strengthened by it, and relieved from a danger whose extent can scarcely be estimated. It lessens very much in my estimation, the objection in a political view to the application of this ample fund, that our lands are becoming an object for which the States are to scramble, and which threatens to sow the seeds of discord among us, instead of being what they might be—a source of national wealth.

I am, dear sir, with great and respectful esteem, your obedient servant,
J. MARSHALL.

SLAVE LAWS OF VIRGINIA.

[From the National Gazette.]

To the Editor:

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 27, 1835.

DEAR SIR,—In common with many, who cherish sentiments of veneration for the memory of John Jay, and of respect for the Hon. William Jay, his son and biographer, I have examined the book which the latter has recently published against the American Colonization Society, with surprise and mortification.

The task of replying to this book has been successfully executed by Dr. Reese of New York, on all the points the Doctor thought it necessary to discuss. There are some errors in relation to the Slave Laws in Virginia, which truly requires to be publicly corrected, for the sake of the cause these errors tend to injure.

Mr. William Jay, in the book just mentioned, has reviewed the Slave Laws of Virginia, with more than the usual degree of vehemence and bitterness exhibited in it. He has repeated an unaccountable error, which he seems to have taken from a Mr. Stroud's compilation of the Slave Laws of the South. Both this Mr. Stroud and Judge Jay attack the laws of Virginia on the subject of Slavery with great acrimony. The object of this in Judge Jay is very obvious; his design was to produce excessive odium against Virginia, *that it might be reflected upon the Colonization Society*, as he was well aware that that State has taken an active part in the glorious scheme. Mr. Jay, while referring to the Code of Virginia, by volume and page, asserts that this code contains *seventy-five* causes of death to the *black*, and only *four* to the *white* man. Yet the statute thus referred to, shows in very plain language, that there are only *eleven* offences punishable by death in the case of the blacks, bond and free. There are but eleven offences (and they are offences of enormity) which are punishable by death, "without the benefit of clergy," a phrase understood by every County Court lawyer of Virginia, and should be understood by every Judge in New York. Every other felony committed by a black man, bond or free, is expressly declared to be "*within benefit of clergy*" and "not punishable with death." The statute does not leave a possibility of mistaking the legal phrase "*within benefit of clergy*," (though familiar to every lawyer) but puts the legal meaning of the phrase in common language, and adds, "that sentence of death shall *not* be passed on a black in case of felony within benefit of clergy." It is surprising, and discreditable alike to Judge Jay's candour and legal knowledge, that he has so boldly and broadly declared *seventy-five* statutory causes of death to the *black man* to exist in Virginia.

Let me add, that even in the eleven causes of death in his case the Governor is invested with the most ample power of commutation.

At the trial of the prisoner, the court is bound to appoint him counsel, (whenever the master of the slave, or some friend of the free man of colour has not done so) and to tax a counsel's fee against the master or the state. It is declared that he shall be entitled to every process to bring his witnesses before the court, and that he shall have advantage of every legal presumption in favor of an accused. It is also made the duty of the court to have an exact record made, at the trial, of all the evidence, and certified to the Governor, for the purpose of giving him a full opportunity of judging of the degree of palliation in each case, to enable him to exercise his pardoning and commuting power, in case the friendless condition of the black man or the omission of his lawyer should not present the case to his attention. In the case of the white man, he can only have the attention of the Governor to his predicament by petition, attended with the expense and trouble of procuring signatures and its conveyance to the seat of government.

So great is Mr. Jay's effort to stigmatise Virginia, with his all-pervading design to injure the Colonization scheme, that he has the hardihood to state, as an instance of the strong *pro-slavery* character and tendency of her laws, that native Indians can, at this day, be made slaves in that State. Now, Mr. Editor, I assure you and your readers, that native Indian slavery was abolished in Virginia by statutes, as far back as 1694!

I might fairly ask of Judge Jay, why, in his investigation of this subject, he did not seek for and present to his readers the laws of Virginia "*in favorem libertatis*," and for the alleviation of the condition of slaves, with which the very statutes he has quoted and falsified, abounds. Is not a Judge and a Christian (for in the latter character Mr. Jay presents himself to his readers,) bound to inquire and to declare the "truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?" When I see how he has suppressed important particulars respecting the late Judge Washington and William H. Fitzhugh, one of the first Vice-Presidents of the Colonization Society, whose memories he has assailed, I feel provoked, and justified too, in reminding Judge Jay, how the law regards a "*suppressio veri*."

Let me adjure Judge Jay to take from the fanatics of New York and elsewhere the yet remaining influence of his name, by the assurance from one extensively acquainted with the south, being a native of Virginia, and until recently a resident of it, that they are doing *direct* injury to the cause of the black man, whether bond or free, greatly beyond the degree of obstruction they throw in the way of that scheme to which Christians and patriots throughout the South are looking with intense interest and increasing confidence, as destined to work out for them that happy consummation which, in the eloquent language of Mr. Madison, "will give to our country the full enjoyment of freedom, and to the world the influence of its great example." With great respect, I am your friend and servant,

RICHARD HENRY LEE.

EMANCIPATION IN KENTUCKY.

We have received from a correspondent, "An Address to the Presbyterians of Kentucky, proposing a plan for the Emancipation and Instruction of their Slaves, by a Committee of the Synod of Kentucky." It is an octavo pamphlet of 64 pages. On the second page we find the following minute:—

"For the purpose of promoting harmony and concert of action on this important subject, the Synod do

Resolve, That a committee of ten be appointed, to consist of an equal number of ministers and elders, whose business it shall be to digest and prepare a plan for the moral and religious instruction of our slaves, and for their future emancipation, and to report such plan to the several presbyteries within our bounds, for their consideration and approval."

John Brown, Esq. is chairman of the committee and Rev. John C. Young, President of Danville College, Secretary. The committee "respectfully request every preacher to read this address to his congregation on some sabbath. The object of the Synod in appointing the committee to prepare a plan, is stated to be to 'promote harmony and concert of action on this important subject;' and this can only be effected by presenting the plan, with the reasons urging its adoption, before every member of our church."

The committee say, in defining slavery, "1. A part of our system of slavery consists in depriving human beings of the right to acquire property. 2. The deprivation of personal liberty forms another part of our system of slavery. 3. The deprivation of personal security is the remaining constituent of our system of slavery." Its effects are said to be: "1. To deprave and degrade its subjects, by removing from them the strongest natural checks to human corruption. 2. It dooms thousands of human beings to hopeless ignorance. 3. It deprives its subjects, in a great measure, of the privileges of the gospel. 4. This system licenses and produces great cruelty. 5. It produces general licentiousness among the slaves. 6. This system demoralizes the whites as well as the blacks. 7. This system draws down upon us the vengeance of heaven." These several points, in their order, are illustrated and enforced at length. Then follow confutations of the various arguments of the defenders of the system. Then—

"As the conclusion of all that has been advanced, we assert it to be the unquestionable duty of every Christian, to use *vigorous and immediate measures for the destruction of this whole system, and for the removal of all its unhappy effects. Both these objects should be contemplated in his efforts.*"

Next, the plan of immediate and complete emancipation is discussed and rejected. Then we have the plan of the committee, briefly stated thus:

"1. We would recommend that all slaves now under 20 years of age, and all those yet to be born in our possession, be emancipated, as they severally reach their 25th year.

2. We recommend that deeds of emancipation be now drawn up, and recorded in our respective county courts, specifying the slaves whom we are about to emancipate, and the age at which each is to become free.

This measure is highly necessary, as it will furnish to our own minds, to the world, and to our slaves, satisfactory proof of our sincerity in this work—and it will also secure the liberty of the slave against all contingencies.

3. We recommend that our slaves be instructed in the common elementary branches of education.

4. We recommend that strenuous and persevering efforts be made, to induce them to attend regularly upon the ordinary services of religion, both domestic and public.

5. We recommend that great pains be taken to teach them the holy scriptures; and that to effect this, the instrumentality of sabbath schools, wherever they can be enjoyed, be united with that of domestic instruction.

It should be understood, that deeds of emancipation, such as are here recommended, put it out of the power of the master to hold the slave beyond the time stated in the deed, even if he should change his mind, and wish to do it. The deed, being recorded in Court, is beyond his power. The law, on this point, is clearly settled in Kentucky. Some connected with the Synod, have already recorded deeds of emancipation. Others, we doubt not, will do it soon. These men are in earnest. Neither the fear of being confounded with northern abolitionists on the one hand, nor the charge of being "gradualists" and "apologists for slavery" on the other, will be permitted to drive them from their course. Whether they are perfectly correct or not, either in theory or practice, they are bringing the emancipation of slaves to pass, faster than any other body of men in the country.

We shall give some of their views more at length at a future time. Meanwhile, we would just hint to some people, that even if the "American Union" be "dead," as they say, some of its friends and allies are *alive*; and that its principles, if they are not effecting all that is desirable, are yet accomplishing *something* for the "Coloured Race." The public will probably hear from the "Union" directly, within a few weeks.—*Boston Recorder.*

EMIGRANTS TO LIBERIA.

The brig *Luna*, Capt. Bears, chartered by the American Colonization Society, sailed from Norfolk for Monrovia, on the 3d of March, with eighty Emigrants and two female recaptured children, placed under their care by the Navy Department. This vessel also carried out a good supply of Provisions, Farming Implements and Trade

Goods, and had directions to call at one of the Cape de Verd Islands for ten or twelve Mules, which were to be purchased there for the use of the Farmers at the Colony. Upwards of forty of these Emigrants were manumitted by the will of the late Gen. Blackburn of Staunton, Virginia; seven were left free by the late Rev. John Allemon, of Frederick County, in the same State; four, manumitted by Rev. C. W. Andrews, and five were left free by the late Mrs. Washington, both of Frederick County; six of them were manumitted by the late Jedediah Atkinson of Petersburg; and seven by Thomas S. King, of Portsmouth. Beverly Wilson, a Methodist Preacher, (who returned from Africa some months since) with his family; also James Byrd, Hancock Lee, and a few other free persons of colour whose names we have not yet learnt, were also of the number.

The Society contemplate sending out a vessel in the Spring from New Orleans, with Emigrants whom they have engaged to carry to Liberia, from Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee; and if their funds will enable them to do so, they will probably dispatch another vessel to the Colony from Norfolk in November next.

LATEST FROM LIBERIA.

By the Susan Elizabeth, Captain Lawlin, which arrived a few days ago at New York, advices, up to the 8th of January, have been received from the Colony. The Colonial Delegates, with the friendly Chiefs, attended by a guard of seventy armed men, had met King Joe Harris, and secured his assent to a treaty by which he gives additional territory for the Bassa Cove settlement; agrees to restore the property of which the settlement was robbed, and to make indemnification for such as has been destroyed. He also stipulates to abandon the slave trade. The town at Bassa Cove will be fortified. The Editor of the Liberia Herald distrusts the pacific professions of King Joe Harris.

Mr. Ashmun's Victory over the natives was celebrated by a military parade, on the 1st of December.

The editor of the Commercial Advertiser (N. York) says—

"We have conversed with Captain Lawlin, of the brig Susan Elizabeth, who gives favorable representations as to the state of the colony. He was at Monrovia for two or three weeks. The Colonial Agent was doing exceedingly well. There were many slavers on the coast, several of which had been captured by the British cruisers. The Liberia Herald mentions the capture of three Spanish slavers, by the British brig Curlew while lying within the harbor of Monrovia. The editor states that these slavers frequently come into that port for wood and water, before taking their cargoes of slaves on board.—These cargoes are in readiness at distant positions, not within the jurisdiction of the colony; and the colonial authorities have no right or power to interfere.

"Capt. Lawlin also visited the Maryland settlement at Cape Palmas. He gives the most cheering account of that colony. The Maryland plan is growing finely. All is health, activity, and prosperity."

In a letter dated December 22d, 1835, to the Secretary of the New York Society, the Colonial Agent, Dr. SKINNER, (after alluding to his purchase of territory from the Native Chiefs at Bassa Cove) writes:—

"I have laid out the town in squares of seventeen rods, containing four lots and a highway; the streets run east and west, north and south, by the compass; fifteen town lots are already cut down, and one large thatched house nearly completed. This place, for salubrity of air and healthiness of location, cannot be exceeded by any spot on the western shore of Africa. I would just remark that on Saturday the 13th inst. the bones of the inhabitants who fell at the massacre, were collected together, and put into a coffin, and on Sabbath the 14th, I preached a funeral sermon on the occasion.

"I do hope that the society will not abandon their object, which will be followed with the most glorious results *soon*, if persevered in; and I expect the time will shortly come, when perhaps the town I have now laid out, will be the capital of a great empire. Shall it be called Port Cresson, Philadelphia, or New York?"

Dr. Skinner also expresses his joy at the arrival, on the 1st of January, of the ship Independence, with T. Buchanan, Esq. the esteemed Agent of the Philadelphia and New York Societies, and abundant supplies, sent out to revive their interesting settlement at Bassa.—Most of the emigrants formerly sent out by these Societies, had re-established themselves at Bassa Cove. Dr. Skinner expresses his admiration at the promptitude with which the fearful and most afflicting calamity endured by that settlement had been alleviated, and adds, "It speaks a language which cannot be misunderstood, and will soon be followed by glorious results if *persevered* in." He also states, that "king Soldier, king Prince John, Bob Grey, and Young Bet, with their head bowmen, have agreed, if furnished by the American people with cloth, to dress in the American style; no step could be taken by your inhabitants which would more effectually advance the cause of civilization here than to furnish the means;" and that "at the Sangui and Sinon rivers, the natives are clamorous for Americans: and at the former place they have actually given a deed for the country, on condition that we occupy it with an American colony."

We give the following extracts from Mr. BUCHANAN's letters:

"I find a state of things here altogether better than I had ever anticipated, even when trying to imagine the brightest side of the picture; but with my present imperfect ability to detect the errors of first impressions, shall withhold the remarks which my feelings would prompt—I visited New Georgia, Congo Town, and Caldwell on Tuesday last in company with some gentlemen of this place, for the purpose of seeing some of our emigrants who had been located at those places. With all these towns I was much pleased, but this term is too feeble entirely to convey the delightful emotions excited by the appearance of things in the two first named villages, which are the residences of the recaptured Africans. The air of perfect neatness, thrift, and comfort, which reign throughout, afforded a lovely commentary on the advancement which these interesting people have made in civilization and Christian order, under the patronage of the Colonization Society. Imagine to yourself a level plain of some two or three hundred acres laid off into square blocks with streets intersecting each other at right angles, as smooth and clean as the best swept side walk in Philadelphia, and lined with well planted hedges of Cassada and Plum—Houses surrounded with gardens luxuriant with fruit and vegetables—a school house full of orderly children, neatly dressed and studiously engaged,—and then say whether I was guilty of extravagance in exclaiming, as I did after surveying this most lovely scene, that had the Colonization Society accomplished nothing more than had been done in the rescue from slavery and savage habits of these three hundred happy people, I should be well satisfied.

I must hurry to a close, as I find there is a prospect of our getting off to-night for the Cove, whence I hope to communicate more fully ere long."

MONROVIA, 8th JANUARY, 1836.

My more than friend:—I am happy to be able to address you from the shores of Africa thus early after my arrival. To you, who have so long been familiar with my feelings and hopes, I need not say how grateful was the sight of Mesurado, when it rose upon my vision above the distant horizon, and with what delight I gazed upon it as the lessening distance developed the grandeur and beauty of its form, and the richness of its deep-green covering.

Were I to obey the impulse of feeling, I fear you would place me among the list of eulogists whose exaggerated descriptions have done little less injury to the interests of Liberia than her most malignant revilers. But after all the curbing that I have imposed upon my colonization enthusiasm, and the determination to look at things on the dark side as well as the bright, Liberia far exceeds, in almost every respect, all that I have ever imagined of her. But you know my imaginings were not formed from the florid panegyrics of inconsiderate friends, no more than from the rancorous calumnies of the most bitter enemies.

With my yet slight acquaintance with the affairs of Liberia, and liability to form opinions that experience might cause me to change, I shall refrain from making any further remarks on the subject at present.

We shall go down to Bassa Cove to-day and proceed forthwith in making our arrangements for the comfortable, and, I trust, permanent settlement of our people.

I have been so incessantly engaged in the disposition of the multifarious concerns of our entangled colony since the first moment of landing, that I have really been unable to find a quiet moment to write half-a-dozen lines. This is written by snatches, and is necessarily brief.

I have dined at several places of *distinction* in Monrovia, and truly the company I have met, and the entertainments furnished by my various hosts, would have done no discredit to a people of higher claims to genteel living. I am astonished frequently at the display of easy, gentlemanly deportment with which I meet, and the talent and intelligence of the community is very extraordinary.

Nothing is wanted, I am persuaded, but a better regulated system of agriculture, and the permanent establishment of schools, to bring the people of Liberia, at a very early day, to the very highest point in the scale of intellectual refinement and political consequence.

I went up the Stockton as far as Caldwell, a few days since, and never was more gratified than with the numerous and increasing evidences of advancement.

I intended to have sent you a box of lemons from one of the Moorovia gardens, but the person who engaged to have them put up, has failed to do it, and it is now too late.

MISSIONARY AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS IN THE COLONY.

The Rev. JOHN SEYS, Missionary of the Methodist Church, under date of Nov. 4th, writes, "We have glorious times in many of the settlements—times of reviving from the presence of the Lord. At Caldwell, where I held a quarterly meeting, a fortnight since, He was present with us in very deed. In this place a religious meeting among us, of five days' duration, closed last night. I heard but one sermon; preached but once myself, and then hardly able to. But the arm of the Lord was made bare in the conviction and conversion of souls. Glory be to his blessed name!"

The Rev. A. D. WILLIAMS, a coloured minister of the same church, writes under the same date, "The Lord has commenced a great work here; one more was set at liberty yesterday afternoon, and last evening there were between fifteen and twenty imploring the Lord to have mercy on them; the most of them are young people from 14 to 25 years of age. My prayer is to God, that he may carry on the work, until all this continent shall be converted to God. I have great reason to praise in the highest. I have raised two African girls, one about fifteen and the other seventeen years of age, both members of our church. It fills me with joy to hear them tell of the goodness of

of God, and shout forth his praise; and others are inquiring after the truth."

The following encouraging letter from Mr. SEYS, came by the Susan Elizabeth:—

MONROVIA, Dec. 17th, 1835.

Rev. and Dear Sir:—I wrote you a few hurried lines by the schooner Caroline, early in the last month, at a time when myself and family were all suffering from disease, and the prospect before us rather dark and gloomy. It is with much gratitude to God I am now able to say, that although we have seen many days of pain and trial since that period, yet at present the sick are convalescent, and we begin again to feel much hope that those of us who have thus far survived will ultimately become inured to this climate.

I am happy to state that we have not only peace in our borders, but seasons of great revival. There is scarcely a settlement within the colony where there is not a work of Divine grace going on among our people and those who worship with us. From Bassa I am receiving frequently the most cheering accounts. My esteemed colleague, Mr. Barton, has been entirely restored to health, after three attacks of fever. He writes that he feels as strong and vigorous as when he was in America. Souls have been converted to God in numbers on his station, and of course many have cast in their lot among us. In this place a gracious work continued for some time after our five days' meeting, and among other trophies of redeeming and converting grace, I had the happiness of baptizing and receiving into the Church a native woman,—a brand plucked from the burning. Glory to God in the highest! The other societies share too in the heavenly work. It grieves me much that I can be but so little among them as I am. It is a rare thing to have all up and well at the mission house; and as much depends on faithful nursing, I am obliged reluctantly to neglect many meetings, in order to attend the sick. In such cases, I rejoice to say that I have every assistance in my brethren in the ministry, whose indefatigable labors seem owned and blessed of God.

As our little conference will meet early in January, and Capt. Lawlin will sail soon after, I shall then, the Lord permitting, forward to you a regular official report of the mission, including the various departments of the work committed to my care, as well as a general account of the expenditures, &c.

I entreat a continued remembrance of me and mine in your prayers, and with respectful compliments to your family, remain, Rev. and dear sir, yours very respectfully,

JOHN SEYS.

The Religious Herald of Richmond contains a very interesting letter from the Rev. WM. MYLNE, one of the Baptist Missionaries in the Colony. It is dated the 15th of December, 1835.

Mrs. Mylne died on the 16th of September. Her husband was consoled by the firm belief that she departed hence to be present forever with the Lord. We insert the following extracts from Mr. Mylne's letter:—

At the time Mrs. Mylne died, I was very near prostrated with fever, but recovered, and enjoyed pretty good health, until the 14th of October, when I had an attack of it, which I broke considerably at the beginning, with medicine, but subsequently nothing would operate, and the fever ran high a good part of the time, for 8 days. I suffered much with pain in my back and head, &c. and the Lord taught me then, that to him belongs the issues from death. He delivered me, when I could do no more; my mind, however, was kept in peace, trusting in God, and what was a wonder to me, I never had a desponding feeling, during my sickness; my mind was unusually clear, and my mental faculties more vigorous than ever I before experienced them, and at times I would not have moved my finger, to prolong this life, if it had been the will of God I should go. The thought of being "absent from the body," and immediately "present with the Lord," was indescribably delightful, and when thinking with myself, whether, if left to my own choice, immediately to realize this, or live and labor usefully a number of years in Africa, I have felt "in a strait betwixt two." This fever reduced me to a very weak state, and it was a month before I was again able to walk about much, but my health again improved by slow degrees, until the 6th of this month, when I was again taken with fever. I endeavored to carry it off by slight medicines, but it would not do,

and I at last took a strong emetic, and I have been recovering since, although still weak, and came down to Monrovia, partly for change of air, as the last trip I made down, did me good. Brother Crocker has been very much favored, he has had no real attack of fever, all this time, which I suppose is unprecedented for a white man here, but he began 3 months before leaving America, to live on farinaceous food, and has strictly adhered to his principles, since he arrived, living on rice, cassada, sweet potatoes, pepper and palm oil, &c. a fact worthy of the consideration of all emigrants to this country. So much for health.

"There has been a revival of religion here, of late; and within a month past, 17 have been added to the First Baptist Church, here in Monrovia, and 6 to the Second, and our Methodist friends have received quite a number on probation. There seems also, a movement in the other settlements, and we are anxiously looking, for the showers to descend. The new meeting-house at Monrovia, is a very good stone building, and is nearly finished. At Caldwell, they have a new Baptist meeting-house also in progress, and at Millsburg, they have another; both the last mentioned, are small, and formed of wood; but such houses do not last long, in this country, but would last much longer if they were painted, which none of them are, and if some of our friends in America, would join and send out paint for these meeting-houses, they would be doing a good work. The people are few and poor, and have much to do to get the house built: we have subscribed what we could to assist, and encourage them. * * *

We had a visit from king Bob Gray and suite, at Millsburg, he came up from Bassa, to escort the governor, when he came up from settling the palaver with Joe Harris. Bob Gray is quite a shrewd man, about 45 or 50 years of age; he calls himself "the American's friend." We had the honor to have his majesty, Bob Gray, and her majesty, the Queen, the Governor and Vice Governor of Liberia, &c. to tea and breakfast at our house, and I can assure you their majesties are no novices at eating in the American fashion. The king was surprised to find that we knew something of his country language, and told brother C. if he would come down and live among his people, he would be a black man in two months, (that is, he could speak the language.) We are doing what good we can at present, at Millsburg, and studying the Bassa language, waiting to see where the Lord will open a door for us in this province. Mr. and Mrs. Wilson, arrived here a day or two ago, from Cape Palmas. He has been quite sick, but is somewhat better. Mrs. W. is well, but looks pale and weak. Mrs. W. is having a small primer printed in the Fishman Language, and I believe came here for that purpose. We are much pleased with Mr. and Mrs. W. from the short interview we had with them.

Your brother in Christ,

WM. MYLNE.

SLAVE TRADE.

Dr. SKINNER writes, under date January 8th, 1836, "I have had constant difficulties with the natives, in consequence of the wars in which they are engaged, and the capture of persons to sell as slaves, some of whom have been taken from our purchased territories. Boats have been sent from the Spanish slavers into the St. Paul's, and slaves have been bought in that river. Every effort is made by the slavers to set the natives against us. I am determined to drive them from our shores, at least, if they land goods any where between Grand Cape Mount and Young Sesters. I will take immediate measures for their destruction, after giving them due notice."

Query.—Would it dishonor the American flag to float a little more frequently in the African seas, especially while the increasing commerce of our merchants is there exposed to the insults and depredations of the enemies of the human race?

CAPTURE OF A SLAVER.—The schooner *Creolo*, arrived at New Orleans from Havana, spoke, January 15th, the British ship of war *Champion*, which informed that on the 12th, on the North side of Cuba, she chased ashore a Spanish Guinea-man, and got her off after forty hours hard work. She had on board 130 slaves.

SLAVE TRADE.

The last London New Monthly Magazine states, that a treaty has just been entered into between Great Britain and the Spanish government, which will, it is believed, have the effect of wholly putting an end to the horrible traffic. By the new treaty the owners and crews of slavers are to be punished as piratical robbers. Vessels fitting and preparing, may be seized and condemned as if they were laden with their cargo, and previous to their sale, are to be broken to pieces. All slaves captured by the British cruisers are to be made over to the British government. This treaty is thought to put the abolition of the Slave Trade under the Spanish flag, almost entirely in British hands.

A vessel of between two and three hundred tons was seized in New York, on the 8th instant, by the U. S. Attorney, Mr. Price, on the charge of having been fitted out for a voyage to the coast of Africa for a cargo of slaves. She had every appearance of a slave ship—was armed, provided with water tanks, irons, gratings for the hatches, and equipped with all the other requisites for a slave ship. Six persons, found on board of her, named Auge Calsamillia, a Spaniard, who was the Captain, John Battiste, Jos. Drisart, Andrew Ghionni, Joacomo Popo, and Francis Moses, three of whom are Italians, one a Frenchman, and one a Colombian, were brought before Judge Betts for examination. It appeared from the testimony of witnesses, that the St. Nicholas was either built at Baltimore, or fitted up there for the slave trade; that she had made one or two voyages; that on her last voyage she brought five hundred slaves from the coast of Africa, who were obliged to be kept standing in the hold, and have rice and water thrown down to them. Two of the men have been committed for trial, and the vessel is held in custody.

MARYLAND COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Intelligence from the Colony of this Society, at Cape Palmas, is encouraging. We shall give some detailed accounts of this Colony in our next number.

The Fourth Annual meeting of this Society was held in Annapolis on the 4th instant, and a number of Resolutions adopted. Mr. LATROBE spoke with energy as the advocate of independent State action on the subject.

Among the Resolutions, was the following, offered by Col. EMORY of the Senate of Maryland:—

Resolved, That the Society are more and more impressed with the wisdom of the policy pursued by the State in reference to Colonization—and trust that in the continuation of its munificent patronage, the State will find the same guarantee of its best interests in relation to its coloured people.

"Durst not bring against him a railing accusation."

The Editor of the Liberator does not choose to imitate Michael the Archangel. But we are glad to see that the Rev. CHESTER WRIGHT will not hold fellowship with Mr. Garrison in his vituperation and calumny. Over his own signature, in the Vermont Chronicle, Mr. Wright (than whom lives not a more conscientious man) says, "I herewith declare my utter abhorrence of the language used by the Libera-

"tor, respecting the Rev. R. W. Bailey, as quoted in your paper, "and also the sentiments quoted from the Liberator respecting Civil Government. And I further declare that I disclaim all fellowship with that paper. I wish it also to be understood that although I have become a member of the Anti-Slavery Society, and a firm believer in its doctrines in opposition to Slavery, I cherish an affectionate regard to the Colonization Society, and shall endeavor, as I may be able, to promote its important interests."

The Vermont Chronicle, it appears, agreed with Mr. Wright. This the Emancipator (twin brother of the Liberator) could not endure. The following article from the last Chronicle, gives the language of the Emancipator, with proper comment:—

"*A sort of Defection.*—The Vermont Chronicle has taken under its guardianship the Rev. Rufus W. Bailey, a northern born pro-slavery preacher, who has published a great deal of Jesuitism in the Maine Christian Mirror, and has for that matter been handled much as he deserved to be by the Liberator. The Chronicle thinks the epithets of the Liberator very *unchristian*, and calls upon the 'Christian members of the Anti-Slavery Society,' to withdraw their countenance from the Liberator. In reply to his call, he has caught *one* man—Rev. Chester Wright. Mr. Wright says, he abhors the language of the Liberator, "as quoted in your paper." That, indeed! Perhaps he would not abhor it in the Liberator. Surely no sound-hearted man can call in question the *justness of its application*, as it stands *there*.

"We owe some thanks, however, to the Chronicle. We hope it will call off from the anti-slavery ranks all such men as Mr. Wright."—*Emancipator*.

The Emancipator is an *official organ* of the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY. We copy the above for the purpose of calling the attention of *Christian* members of Anti-Slavery Societies to the facts it discloses respecting the temper and views of that *organ*. Those who control it *approve* what the Liberator has said of Mr. Bailey, viz. that he is "a wolf in sheep's clothing"—"a recreant New Englander"—"a thing ready to be disposed of just as tools are wanted"—a "false prophet"—a "shameless falsifier"—a "blind guide"—a "high priest of heathenism"—that he is guilty of "impudent statements," "lying testimony, and appalling obduracy." Is it right, in the sight of God, to give your support to a Society that deliberately lends its official sanction to such things? We put the question seriously, not to partisans, as such, but to our *Christian brethren*.

The Society would gladly be rid of such men as Mr. WRIGHT!

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION OF SLAVES IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

The Convention of the Episcopal church in South Carolina, in 1834, appointed a committee to report on the religious instruction of slaves. At the late meeting of the convention, the committee made their report, and requested the bishop to address a pastoral letter to the churches of his diocese on the subject. This has been done accordingly, and bishop Bowen's pastoral letter is now before the public, in which he urges attention to the religious instruction of slaves, as the imperative duty of every master, and unites with the committee in recommending measures for its due performance. The persons by whom the work of instruction should be undertaken are "1st. The clergy with their assistants in Sunday schools. 2. Lay catechists, usefully employed in the primitive ages of the Church, and now rendered absolutely necessary by the small number of clergy. 3. The proprietors of slaves or their agents or overseers, with the assistance of their families." The *method* recommended is:—1. The establish

ment of Sunday schools, with lectures on portions of Scripture for adults, together with classes of candidates for baptism and the Lord's Supper, to be conducted by the minister. 2. The employment of missionaries for coloured population. One of the clergy, the committee trusts, is as "usefully as he is honorably employed" in this way, on the plantations of Messrs. Clarkson on the Wateree, and the hope is expressed that the time is not far distant "when the Lord will put into the hearts of many of our younger clergy to devote themselves to this interesting work." 3. The proprietors of slaves are urged to personal labors for their spiritual improvement, and each one is recommended in relation to the measures proposed, to "ask himself before God, *is not this my duty?* And then let him pursue it, convinced that however great his discouragements may be at first, by the blessing of God great good must ultimately result."

The example of Christians in South Carolina in this truly evangelical work, it is hoped will rouse their brethren in Virginia and the other States in which this population is found, to renewed and persevering effort to impart to them the knowledge of salvation. Here is work enough for every branch of the church of Christ, and it is too important to be suspended whenever its opposers may have the charity or courtesy to impeach the motives of those engaged in it, or to distrust the tendency of scriptural instruction.—*Religious Telegraph*.

MISSISSIPPI.—I was gratified to form an acquaintance with a brother near Natchez, who devotes his whole time to the spiritual welfare of the negroes on three plantations, and derives his support from their masters. Some other clergymen appropriate a part of each Sabbath to the instruction of the blacks, and all feel a deep interest in their spiritual condition. Here, as in the other slaveholding States, the religious community were enlarging their plans and extending their efforts for the benefit of the blacks, when the interference of Abolitionists made it necessary to curtail them. How mischievous is zeal without knowledge. One word in relation to the physical condition of the slaves. I had so often heard reports of cruelties suffered by slaves in Mississippi and Louisiana, that I was not prepared to find any of them so comfortable as they seem generally to be. I see them well clothed *for winter*, healthy, and cheerful—many of their houses have brick chimnies, and seen at a distance, have a very neat and comfortable appearance. When I have inquired concerning their food and the labor required of them, it has been replied, that the interest, if not the humanity of masters, must lead them to feed their servants well, and also prevent them from overtaking them. A deficiency of food would diminish their ability to labor, and excessive labor would shorten their lives. Their price is very high, and their labor is very valuable.—Therefore the master is prompted by the strongest motive, *self-interest*, as well as others more honorable to himself, to take care of the health of his servants. Instances of cruelty are exceptions to the general treatment.—*Correspondent of the Religious Telegraph*.

NEW YORK CITY COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The Corresponding Secretary of the New York Colonization Society acknowledges the receipt of fifty dollars from the ladies of St. Stephen's church, to constitute their rector, the Rev. William Jackson, a member for life:—

Also the following letter and its enclosure, viz:—

Rev. Dr. Proudfit.

RESPECTED SIR:—I take great pleasure in transmitting to you the sum of fifty dollars, from a few of the ladies of St. George's Church, to constitute the Rev. Dr. Milnor a director of the Colonization Society.

The Colonization Society is undoubtedly one of the most distinguished enterprises of the present day, and I believe it to be, in the providence of God, the medium through which the prophecy will be fulfilled, that Ethiopia will stretch out her hands to God, and through its instrumentality, the benighted sons and daughters of Africa will be made to rejoice in that liberty with which God makes his people free, and that this moral desert, illuminated by the rays of the sun of righteousness, will soon be made to bud and blossom as the rose.

May you, Rev. Sir, continue to be favoured with the smiles of a kind Providence in this noble cause in which you are engaged, and may your success be equal to your desires, is the prayer of a friend to the Colonization Cause.

R. MAYNARD.

Fulton street 204, Feb. 19th.

ABOLITION CONVENTION.

A County Abolition Convention was notified to be held at Cazenovia, (Madison County, N. Y.) on the 25th ult. with a view to the formation of a County Abolition Society. Very few persons however attended, and it does not appear that any business was transacted. A number of the citizens on going to the place appointed, were met at the door, and informed that the Convention had adjourned. They then, with many others, proceeded to the Methodist Chapel, where a meeting was organized, and the following resolutions adopted:

Resolved, That while we view the existence of Slavery as an evil, we at the same time consider it unwise and impolitic to attempt its abolition through the means used by Abolition Societies, inasmuch as the people of the non-slaveholding States possess neither the right nor the power, under our Federal Constitution, to interfere with the relation of master and slave, as at present existing in the slave-holding States.

Resolved, That the formation of Abolition Societies, and the means resorted to by them to operate upon public opinion at the South, are productive of no good, but have been of much mischief, and may be of incalculable evil.

Resolved, Therefore, that the formation of an Abolition Society in this County is inexpedient and improper, and that this meeting be now dissolved.—*Jour. of Com.*

WEST INDIES.—It is said that emancipation in Barbadoes has worked well.—Many who opposed the abolition of slavery, step by step, to the last, are now in favour of it. They say it has been a good thing for the Island. All their fears in regard to evil consequences, have been disappointed. Real estate is said to be rising. This Island is 21 miles long and 12 broad at the extremity, has 120,000 people, of whom 50,000 have been slaves, and 20,000 free people of colour.

N. Y. Paper.

At this period no confident judgment can be formed of the experiment. We pray that the best hopes may not be disappointed.

AMERICAN UNION,

For the Relief and Improvement of the Coloured Race.

Our last volume (p. 137) gave some account of the history and purposes of this Institution, and some extracts from an exposition published by its Executive Committee. On the 11th of February last its Anniversary meeting was held at Boston, the Hon. WILLIAM REED, President of the Association, in the chair. A statement of the proceedings of the Executive Committee was read, from which it appeared that a General Secretary or Agent had not yet been appointed, but that Professor E. A. ANDREWS had been delegated to visit the middle and northern Slaveholding States to ascertain the condition of Slavery and the Slave trade. His letters to the Executive Committee on those subjects had been published. After the transaction of such business as it was thought necessary should be acted on, and the passage of Resolutions, supported by brief addresses in relation to the experience and objects of the association, it adjourned to the last week in May next.

An Auxiliary to the Association was on the 11th of February last formed at North Worcester. The following officers constituting a Board of Managers, were appointed:

Samuel Lee, Esq. of Templeton—*President*.

Rev. Ebenezer Perkins, Royalston; Col. Artemas Lee, Templeton; Dea. William Cutting, Athol; Rev. Samuel Gray, Hubbardston; Rev. Alexander Lovell, Phillips-ton; Dea. Reuben Hyde, Winchendon—*Vice Presidents*.

Rev. James S. Warner, Athol—*Secretary*.

Oliver Powers, Esq. Phillipston—*Treasurer*.

OBITUARY.

Died, on the 11th of November last, in Monrovia, Africa, the Rev. WM. N. COLSON, a man of colour, in the 30th year of his age, after a severe, and protracted illness, of seventeen days. He has left a disconsolate widow and three tender orphans, to mourn the irreparable loss, which they have thus unexpectedly sustained.

Wm. N. Colson, was raised in Petersburg, and conducted himself in such a way, as to obtain the confidence and esteem of those who knew him.

In the month of July last, he embarked for Africa, for the purpose of prosecuting a commercial enterprise—which promised great advantages to himself, as well as those with whom he was associated—and had Providence seen fit to have prolonged his life, would no doubt been highly advantageous to the commercial prosperity of the Colony.

During his stay in Africa, he visited all the principal settlements in the Colony of Liberia, and also made an excursion to the settlements at Siera Leone, and in his letters to his friends in this country, expressed himself as being much pleased:—He calculated on returning home during this year, but an inscrutable Providence has seen fit to appoint otherwise. He has been called to his eternal home, by that Being, who holds the issue of life and death in his hands. Colson was not unprepared for the summons. He was humble, sincere, and consistent in his Christian professions; and has no doubt made a happy exchange from the afflictions, and scenes of this world, for the transcendant joys of an eternal mansion.—*P. Intel.*

The New York Commercial Advertiser says, "We regret to have to announce the death of Captain CHARLES W. KNAPP, of this city, late commander of the schooner Florida, and better known as commander of the packet ship Jupiter, of this port.—He died on the 18th November, at Whydah, on the west coast of Africa, and was buried at the English fort at that place. Captain K. was esteemed and beloved by all who knew him, particularly by those missionaries who went out with him when he was on board the Jupiter." We are grieved to learn, also, the decease of Mrs. CYPLES, and Mrs. THOMPSON (formerly Mrs. Caesar), both exemplary Christians and useful Teachers in the Colony.

CONTRIBUTIONS

To the American Colonization Society, from January 20, to February 20, 1836.

Collections from Churches.

Brandywine Manor, Pa. Presbyterian Church, by Rev. John N. C. Grier,	\$14 76
Duanesburg, N. Y. Reformed Presbyterian Church, by Rev. Dr. M ^r Master,	15
York, Pa. from several Churches, by John Voglesong,	12

Donations.

Canton, Ohio, from John Harris,	6
Chillicothe, Ohio, Abner Wesson,	30
Monson, Massachusetts, A. W. Porter,	75

Auxiliary Societies.

Albemarle, Va. Female Society, Susan B. Terrell, Secretary & Treasurer,	30
Hampshire, Mass. Auxiliary do. Geo. Colton, Treasurer,	28

Life Member.

Rev. John Allan, D. D. by contributions from the Female Members of the Presbyterian Church,	30
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\$240 76

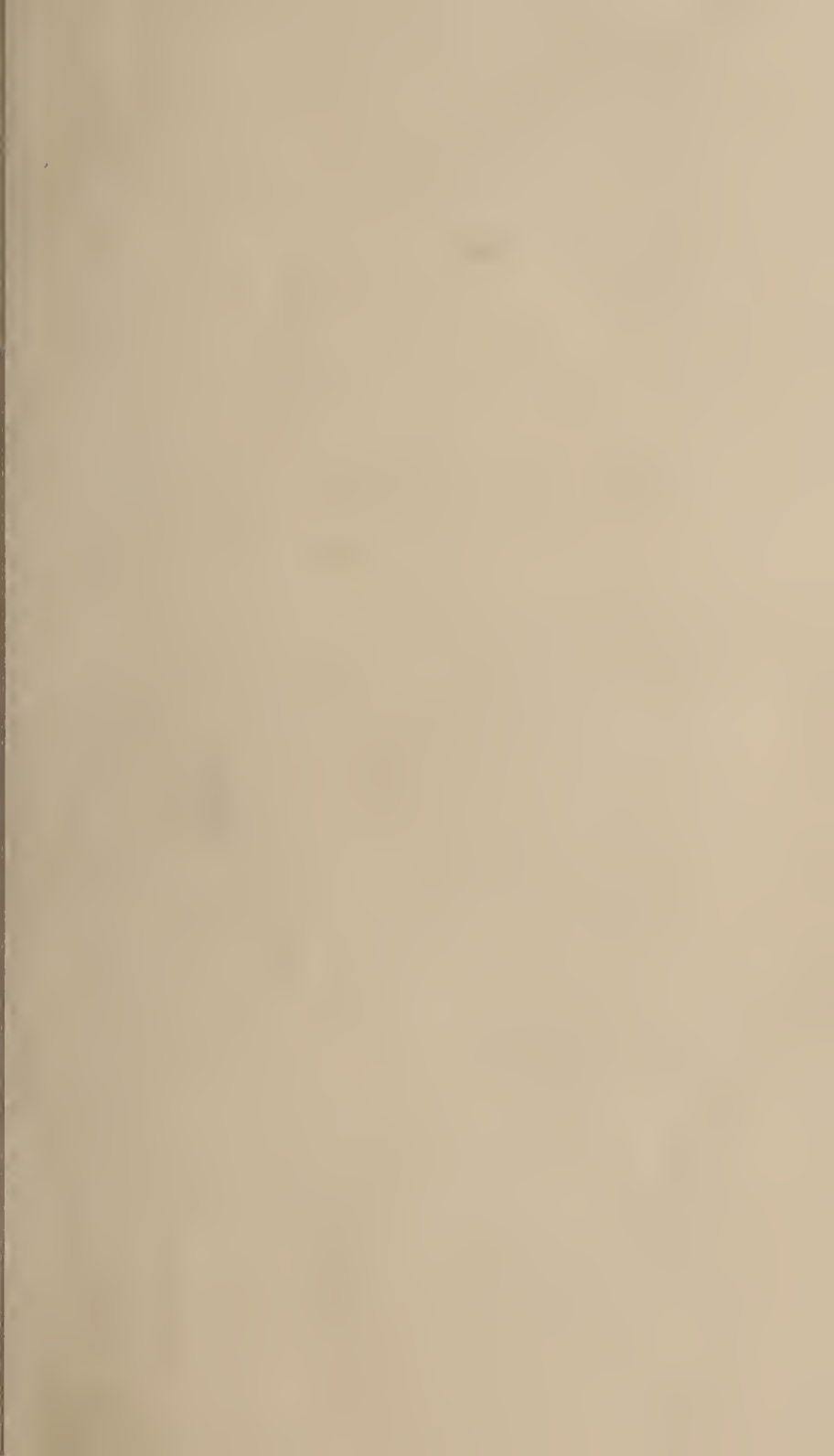
African Repository.

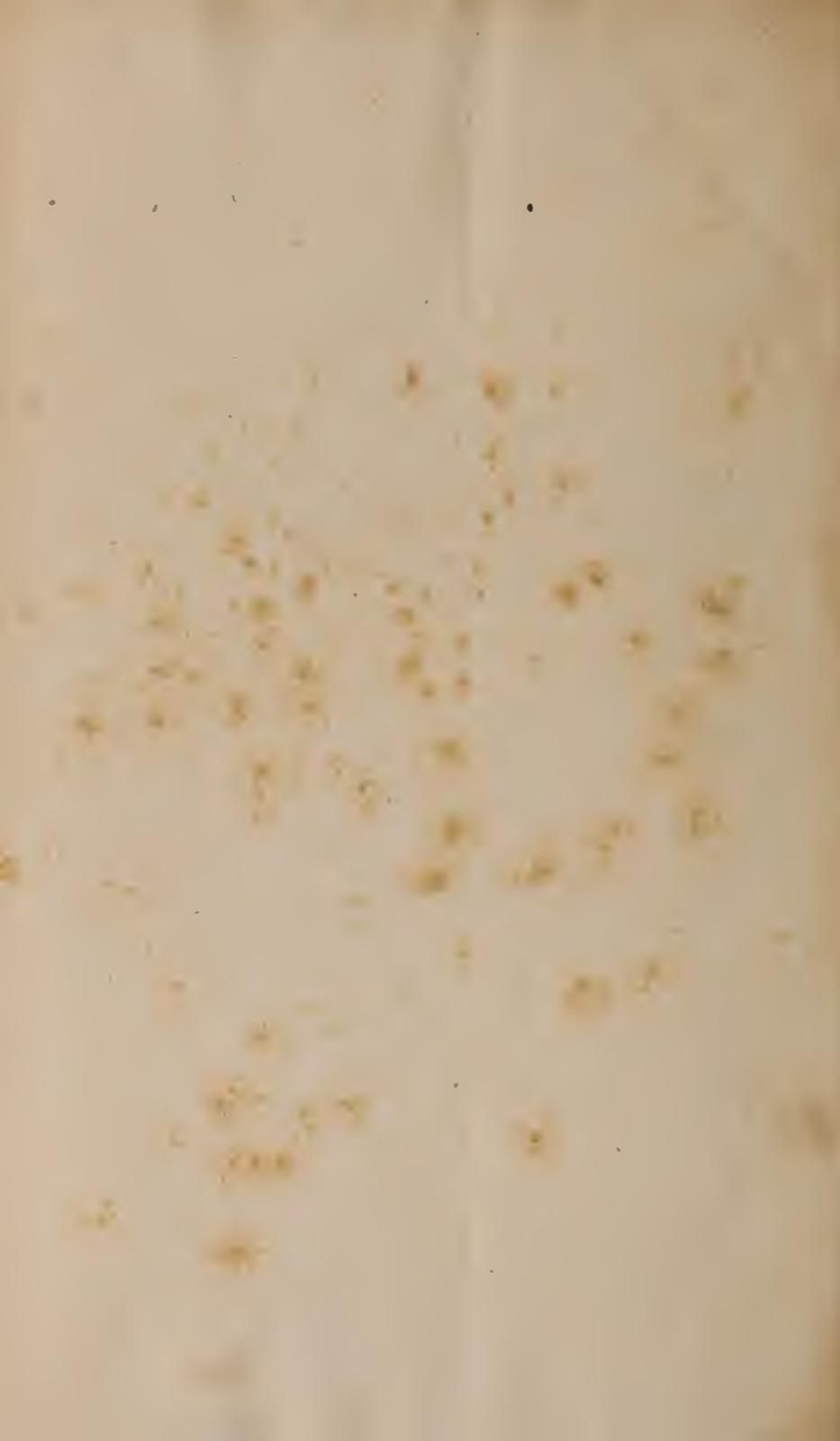
Rev. Marshall Shed, Willsboro, N. Y.	5
Henry Starr, Cincinnati, Ohio,	4
Micajah Pendleton, Bent Creek, Buckingham county, Va.	8
Charles S. Cary, Chelsea, Massachusetts,	2
D. L. Morrill, Concord, N. H.	2
Rufus Harris, Westborough, Mass.	2
Miss Mary Allen, Nazareth, Pa.	5
John S. Williams, Cincinnati, Ohio,	5
Thomas Massie, Tye River Mills, Nelson county, Va.	10

Collections made last Fall in the States of Vermont and New Hampshire, by C. C.

BEAMAN, a temporary Agent of this Society, and before acknowledged.

Burlington, Vt. from John Peck, Saml. Hickok, and Carlos Baxter, each \$5	15
H. P. Hickok, R. G. Cole, Chs. Adams, & W. I. Seymour, each \$3,	12
John Bradley and A. Foote, each \$2,	4
Vernon Harrington and H. W. Potwin, each \$1,	2
Brattleboro, Vt. from J. C. Holbrook, E. Seymour, & Caleb Pratt, each \$5,	15
F. Holbrook,	4
Rev. C. Walker, H. H. Fessenden, J. L. Dickerman, Mrs. W. Fessenden, Wells Goodhue, and Calvin Townsley, each \$2,	12
Samuel Root, Paul Chase, and L. Carr, each \$1,	3
Bennington, Vt. from Hon. Isaac Tickenor,	3
Lyman Patcher and S. C. Raymond, each \$2,	4
Rev. E. W. Hooker, F. Hooker, P. L. Robinson, A. Robinson, and G. R. Sanford, each \$1,	5
Cash,	75
Putney, Vt. from collection, under care of Rev. Amos Foster,	3 79
Chelsea, Vt. do. Rev. Mr. Buckman,	1 50
Randolph, Vt. do. Rev. Mr. Boardman,	2 2
Haverhill, N. H. a collection,	10
Plymouth, N. H. Wm. Green, donation,	5
a friend in Bristol, by Wm. Green,	3
Littleton, N. H. from A. Brackett, H. Mattocks, and H. A. Bellows, each \$1	3
G. Ely, E. Carleton, Rev. D. Fairbank, and Rev. Evarts Worcester, each 50 cents,	2
Sundry persons,	3 26
Keene, N. H. from O. Dutton,	5
O. Holman, Geo. Tilden, H. Seymour, Abijah Wilder, Elijah Parker, Abijah Kingsbury, C. H. Jarquith, J. Prentiss, Edmund Poole, Lonzo Lyon, Eliph. Briggs, B. F. Adams, S. F. White, C. C. Denny, S. H. Briggs, Azel Wilder, C. J. Adams, & Z. S. Barstow, each \$1,	18
Wm. Lamson \$1.13, D. Watson 50 cts. & Ladies \$1.37,	3
Peacham, N. H. collection in Rev. Mr. Worcester's congregation,	6 79





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